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INNOCENT III, DEFENDER OF THE CLERGY

Perhaps no Pope in the history of the mediaeval Church more successfully asserted his power over secular rulers than did Innocent III (1198-1216). With the decisive victory at Bovines in 1214, Frederick II, young Hohenstauffen ward of the Pope, vindicated his claim to the throne of the Holy Roman Empire and thus ensured the triumph of one of Innocent's most cherished policies. King John of England, forced to recognize the Pope's appointee, Stephen Langton, as Archbishop of Canterbury, ultimately agreed to hold his kingdom in feudal tenure as a vassal of the Holy See. Philip Augustus of France was compelled, at least outwardly, to recognize Ingeburga as his wife and queen in the celebrated marital case. Alfonso IX, King of Leon, and Ottocar II, King of Bohemia, also were forced to yield to papal mandates in enforcement of the sanctity of the marriage vow.

But Innocent's struggles with powerful laymen by no means were confined to kings and princes. The Petrine See, he insisted, was the mother and protector of all churches and all the clergy. The primacy of Rome entailed not only power and prestige but also commensurate responsibility, and unflagging vigilance, therefore, had to be exercised to protect the Church against all aggressions. Failure to intervene forcibly in support of local ecclesiastical officials, Innocent believed, would be tantamount to acquiescence in iniquity. No plea for aid remained unanswered, therefore, no matter how exalted the offender or how lowly the rank of the clerical victim of violence or spoliation.

An object of Innocent III's constant solicitude was the protection of the persons of the clergy against violence. Assaults upon clerics were punished by excommunication, in accordance with canons of the

Lateran Councils of 1097 and of 1139 and the bull *Si quis suadente diabolo* of Innocent II (1130-1143). Whenever necessary or expedient, the excommunication was accompanied by the imposition of an interdict on the lands of the offender. The gravity of the penalty also normally was enhanced by the stipulation that absolution of those excommunicated for laying violent hands on the clergy could be secured only by personal appearance before the Roman curia. It was believed that the difficulties and expense of such a journey to Rome would be a powerful deterrent, although the rigor of the law frequently was relaxed by dispensations authorizing local absolution if considerations of equity seemed to warrant such clemency.[1]

From his predecessor, Celestine III, Innocent inherited the problem of securing the liberation of the Archbishop of Salerno, who had been taken as a prisoner into Germany during the outbreak of civil strife in Sicily precipitated by the death in 1197 of the Emperor Henry VI. In a letter addressed to the Bishops of Spires, Augsburg, and Worms, Innocent declared that the Lord Himself indicated how grievous was the sin of those who raised their hand against the clergy when He declared that He was persecuted in the person of His ministers. The sentence of excommunication applied, not only against persons actually guilty of violence against clerics, but also against those who tacitly condoned the crime by refusal to shun those under the ban of the Church.

The bishops were directed to bring further pressure to bear by publicly repeating the sentence of excommunication. If Wicel de Berc, most responsible for the archbishop's detention, did not immediately seek absolution, he was to be shorn of all his benefices,

[1] J. P. Migne (Ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina,* 221 vols. (Paris, 1884-1851), CCXIV, cols. 269-270. P. Vidal, *Ius canonicum* (Rome, 1923), Tomus II, codicis liber II, 86-87, 89-91, in summarizing the legislation, does not discuss Innocent III's decretals, nor are they cited in G. C. Antonelli, *Tractatus de juribus et oneribus clericorum* (Venice, 1716) and T. Del Bene, *De immunitate et jurisdictione ecclesiastica,* 2 vols. (Lyons, 1650), extensively used by Vidal. The topic is not treated adequately in the general works on Innocent III, such as F. Hurter, *Geschichte Papst Innocenz des Dritten,* 4 vols. (Hamburg, 1834); A. Luchaire, *Innocent III,* 6 vols. (Paris, 1906-1908); Horace K. Mann, *Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages,* 18 vols. in 19 (St. Louis, 1906-1932), XI-XII.

while territory in which the prelate was held a prisoner, or to which he might subsequently be taken, was to be placed under an interdict. Indeed, all princes of Germany were warned that unless they exerted their every resource to ensure the archbishop's release, the interdict would be made general throughout all Germany.[2]

Philip of Swabia already had been excommunicated by Celestine III because of his seizure of papal lands in Tuscany. The duke had manifested his desire for absolution, but he was told it could not be granted by anyone save the Pope. Nevertheless, if Philip were instrumental in bringing about the release of the imprisoned archbishop, Innocent declared that the requirement for seeking absolution at Rome would be waived.[3] This offer by the Pope proved effective, for the archbishop was released, largely as a result of Philip's intercession.[4]

Another flagrant case of outrageous violence against a high clerical official was incident to the civil war between Philip of Swabia and Otto of Brunswick. "Sons of Belial," who were partisans of Philip, organized a conspiracy to murder the Bishop of Würzburg, a supporter of Otto. The conspirators, who hitherto, "like Judas," had concealed their enmity toward the prelate, broke into his church "like wolves into a sheepfold." After seizing the bishop, they cut off his right arm, "the very arm with which he had consecrated the bread and wine into the body of the Lord." They then consummated the foul assault by decapitating the prelate and cutting off his tonsure, "despite the fact that it contained the holy oil of consecration." The mutilated body then was "exposed as food to birds and beasts of prey" to flaunt the crime before the populace of the diocese.[5]

In a letter to the Archbishop of Salzburg in regard to this horrible affair, Innocent declared that no sadness was comparable with that of the Church whose sons were killed by the workers of iniquity. If such outrages could be perpetrated with impunity against prominent clergy, what authority would the lawless recognize? No member of the clergy would be safe, for the murder of a prelate would embolden others to emulate the sacrilege of the criminals responsible for the

[2] *Ibid.*, col. 19.

[3] *Ibid.*, col. 20.

[4] *Gesta Innocentii Tercii*, xxii, Migne, P. L., CCXIV, cols. xxxiii-xxxviii.

[5] Migne, P. L., CCXIV, col. 1167.

murder. The archbishop was ordered to announce the excommunications of those involved in the crime every Sunday and feast day, with bell and candle to impart additional solemnity. Interdicts were to be imposed on the lands of all implicated in the murder, with only baptism and extreme unction permitted, and the inquisitorial method of investigation was invoked to attempt to discover the identity of the assailants.[6] The ensuing investigation apparently did not ferret out the criminals, with the result that the Pope had to be content with the general sentence.

Another shocking case occurred in the parish of Caithness, Scotland, where a group of scoundrels subjected the bishop of the diocese to torture and cut out his tongue. The ringleader of the hoodlums fortunately was apprehended, and the Pope, to whom the crime was reported, personally prescribed the severe penance to be performed by the culprit. The offender was required to walk about the diocese in which his crime had been perpetrated for fifty days, clad only in trousers and a sleeveless woolen coat and carrying a green bough. During the fifty-day period, his tongue was to be kept extended by twine, except while he ate his meals, limited to bread and water. Upon conclusion of the penitential perambulations, the culprit was to prostrate himself before the cathedral of the mutilated bishop to undergo a severe flogging with the bough he had carried. Then, he was ordered to go to the Holy Land for two years, to perform such hard labor for the benefit of the holy places as might be directed by local ecclesiastical authorities. His fast on bread and water was to continue during the entire period, unless amelioration might prove necessary as a concession to physical frailty.[7]

In 1206, the Duke of Poland aroused Innocent's wrath by a series of violent acts against the clergy. In a letter of bitter recrimination, the Pontiff declared that the duke had not been invested with the sword of secular authority in order to plunge it into the body of his mother, the Church. He had not been placed over his subjects to lead them in attacks upon their pastors, and he need only recall the examples of biblical kings to realize how grievously he was offending God. The Archbishop of Gnesen had been kept a prisoner in his own cathedral

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*, col. 1062.

by the duke's orders; indeed, the canons had been forced to stand guard over their prelate since his incarceration. Other clergy had been imprisoned and even tortured, while relics of churches had been seized and ecclesiastical property confiscated.[8] The duke was peremptorily ordered to release the archbishop and to make amends for all his offenses. The Pope's mandates apparently were effective, for the duke's absolution soon was announced in a papal letter stating that he had made suitable atonement.[9]

Sporadic violence against the clergy in Hungary also occasioned papal action. The Church had hitherto been held in great reverence in the Hungarian kingdom, Innocent declared, so that even a thief resorting to its asylum was protected. Yet, now the traditional freedom and immunity which the Church had enjoyed were jeopardized by those who "neither knew nor cared how perilous it was to have no fear of the Lord." Not only guilty fugitives, but even persons innocent of wrongdoing, were violently seized in churches, and sacred objects deposited in the edifices for safekeeping were stolen. The Pope, therefore, ordered the Archbishops of Gran and Kolocsa to procure the prompt restoration of all the liberties of the Hungarian Church and clergy, if necessary by imposing interdicts.[10] The King of Hungary was ordered to render every possible assistance to the prelates.[11]

The Pope's intercession greatly improved conditions, but in 1213 he was informed that criminals in Hungary, among other offenses against the Church, had flogged and otherwise maltreated clergy of the Archdiocese of Gran. Excommunication of these malefactors with bell and candle was ordered proclaimed on each feast day,[12] and all nobles were warned not to harbor the culprits if they fled into their domains.[13]

One of the most severe punishments meted out to those guilty of violence against the clergy was the requirement to come to Rome in

[8] *Ibid.*, CCXV, cols. 1060-1062; 1062-1063.

[9] *Ibid.*, col. 1059.

[10] *Ibid.*, CCXIV, col. 368.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] *Ibid.*, CCXVI, col. 950.

[13] *Ibid.* Cf. A. Theiner (Ed.), *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1859), II, 95.

person for absolution. The rigor of this stipulation frequently was relaxed, however, at the behest of local ecclesiastical authorities. When the Archbishop of Compostela requested papal permission to absolve penitents excommunicated for laying violent hands on clerics, Innocent declared that he considered the prelate a good shepherd "who carried his sheep back to the fold on his shoulders, and, by diligent solicitude, guarded them in their helplessness." In view of the confidence he reposed in the archbishop's discretion, Innocent authorized him to extend such absolutions, provided beneficiaries of special favor took a solemn oath to refrain from violence in the future. In flagrant cases, however, the archbishop was directed to reserve the case for papal action "lest the nerve of ecclesiastical discipline, which is excited by violence, be paralyzed by lack of use."[14]

Dispensation from the onerous requirement of coming to Rome was granted on several occasions to those who by reason of age or physical infirmity were unable to withstand the rigors of the journey, and concessions also were extended to women in deference to the frailty of their sex.[15] In the case of several offenders in Sicily, the Pope, in further extenuation for clemency, acknowledged that the hot climate was conducive to fits of temper and consequent increase in the number of cases of violence against churchmen. Since he sought only the immunity of the clergy and the salvation of sinners, the Pope declared that he would pay special heed to the biblical injunction to pray for persecutors and would be especially lenient.[16]

Another factor justifying dispensation from the requirement of coming to Rome for absolution was cited in the case of several scholars of the University of Paris who had incurred penalties by striking clerics. The Abbot of St. Victor of Paris claimed that a journey to Rome would entail serious detriment to the scholarship of the students involved because of the instruction they would miss, aside from the expense incurred which might so deplete their financial resources as to interfere with the continuance of their studies. Innocent III, in reply, authorized the abbot to grant the dispensations, unless

[14] Migne, P. L., CCXV, col. 85.
[15] *Ibid.*, CCXIV, col. 269; CCXV, col. 85.
[16] *Ibid.*, CCXIV, cols. 269-270.

the offenses were unusually serious, but this clemency was not applicable to students sentenced for offenses committed outside Paris.[17]

Cases sometimes arose where lay officials employed violence against criminous clerks in sincere effort to enforce ecclesiastical discipline. The Archbishop of Compostela informed the Pope that two justiciars in his province, renowned for their zeal for law enforcement, had arrested clerics and treated them like lay offenders. In the mistaken belief that their office entailed not only the right but the duty to proceed against clerical transgressors, the justiciars had refused to heed the archbishop's remonstrances. The prelate further pointed out that any effort to force the officials to come to Rome for absolution from the excommunication they had incurred would likely provoke serious trouble. Innocent, in response to the archbishop's request for advice, declared that a good pastor tries to call, rather than drive, the errant sheep back into the fold; if excessive severity were employed against them, they might fall into a pit, instead of coming to receive healing treatment. He, therefore, authorized the archbishop to absolve the justiciars, with the proviso that the money they would have spent for the cost of the journey to Rome be donated to the Christian cause in the Holy Land.[18]

In a somewhat similar case in the Archdiocese of Lund, the Pope ruled that if laymen used violence against criminous clerks, who could not otherwise be apprehended, no guilt was incurred if they acted in response to a mandate from proper ecclesiastical authority. Nevertheless, laymen were not to employ violence beyond that absolutely necessary either for their own defense or to ensure the apprehension and safe custody of incorrigible clerks.[19]

Embarrassment sometimes arose when servants of prominent ecclesiastics committed acts of violence against churchmen. The Archbishop of Bourges represented to the Pope that several of his servants, excommunicated for this offense, had been ordered to proceed to Rome for absolution. The expenses of such a journey would fall upon the Church, however, since the penitents had no funds of their

[17] *Ibid.*, CCXVI, col. 510.
[18] *Ibid.*, CCXV, col. 84.
[19] *Ibid.*, cols. 200-201.

own. Then, too, the archbishop would be deprived of their services until the journey was completed, and this was tantamount to additional economic loss to the Church. As further extenuation for clemency, the archbishop regretfully admitted that his clergy had not set an edifying example, since they had often struck each other within sight of the servants; indeed, "it was impossible to tell whom the devil might tempt to commit such a sin." In his desire to "temper the rigor of justice with the oil of leniency," the Pope authorized the archbishop to grant the absolutions, on condition that some other penance be assigned the offenders in lieu of going to Rome.[20] When the Archbishop of Lund, however, expressed reluctance to permit his servants to go to Rome for absolution from excommunication incurred by violence against clerics, the Pope refused to permit mitigation of the sentence, unless the guilty servants actually were eager to set out for Rome in order to escape their ecclesiastical master.[21]

A troublesome complication arose in the Diocese of St. Andrews in Scotland where individuals had taken holy orders while still under sentence of excommunication for violence against the clergy. When consulted by the bishop in regard to cases of this type, Innocent ruled that a distinction should be drawn between those that had unwittingly aggravated their guilt by accepting ordination in ignorance of the penalty incurred by their violence and those who were fully aware of their status. Individuals ordained when they knew that they were ineligible were to be degraded and permanently barred from ordination. The cases of the others were reserved for the decision of the Pope, who cautioned the prelate not to absolve them on his own initiative unless subsequent permission to do so was received from Rome. In the event the offenders had taken monastic vows while excommunicated for violence against churchmen, their abbots were empowered to absolve them, unless their attacks on clerics had entailed the effusion of blood, loss of a member, or mutilation. In such cases, or in the event the offense had been committed

[20] *Ibid.*, cols. 726-727. For a discussion of cases of violence committed by the clergy, cf. Charles Edward Smith, "Clerical Violence in the Pontificate of Innocent III," *Journal of Religion*, XXIV (January, 1944), 37-41.

[21] Migne, P. L., CCXV, col. 816.

against a bishop, abbot, or ecclesiastical personage of even greater dignity, papal absolution at Rome was requisite.[22]

Innocent was equally energetic in seconding efforts of local ecclesiastical authorities to protect the property of the Church against lay spoliation. In a number of instances, the seizure of the lands and goods of the Church was incident to the civil wars in Sicily and Germany, and the Pope's intervention, therefore, was dictated not only by his solicitude for the preservation of ecclesiastical liberties but also by his unflagging determination to ensure the triumph of major policies.

The efforts of Markwald of Anweiler to gain control of the Sicilian kingdom after the death of Henry VI were accompanied by a number of infringements of ecclesiastical property rights. Innocent declared that he "bore these outrages with patience, for, just as the tares are not gathered and bundled for burning until after the harvest, so, [he] was bound to tolerate evil until it was necessary to impose sentence." Finally, however, the Pope announced that Markwald had committed sundry outrages in the actual sight of papal legates who thereupon had excommunicated him. Innocent approved the sentence and ordered it to be publicly proclaimed. The Pontiff furthermore absolved from their oaths all who had sworn to support Markwald, since oaths to a prince "who opposes God and His Saints and tramples upon their precepts" were not binding.[23] Markwald remained unchastened by papal wrath, however, and continued his depredations until his death in 1202.[24]

Civil war in Germany likewise engendered confiscation and spoliations. Philip of Swabia was charged with seizing properties of the Bishop of Würzburg, as well as those of his suffragans and relatives. The Pope ordered the excommunication of the Hohenstauffen prince and the interdict of his lands if his aggressions did not immediately cease, but the subsequent murder of the bishop, for which Philip was not personally blamed, overshadowed the property seizures.[25]

After the assassination of Philip in 1208, partisans of his erstwhile

[22] *Ibid.*, CCXVI, cols. 1249-1250. St. Andrews did not become an archdiocese until the fifteenth century.

[23] *Ibid.*, CCXIV, cols. 34-35.

[24] *Gesta*, xxix, xxxiii-xxxv, Migne P. L., cols. liii, lvi-lxii.

[25] *Supra*, pp. 3-4.

rival, Otto of Brunswick (Otto IV), seized the properties of the Bishop of Bamberg. Innocent authorized two legates to investigate the case, since charges of a grave nature had been lodged against the bishop by Otto's adherents. In the event the charges were sustained, the legates were authorized to depose the prelate and deprive him of all benefices; otherwise, if he successfully performed canonical purgation, he was to be acquitted and the confiscated properties were to be returned. The legates were unable to proceed, however, since the bishop's accusers announced their intention of appealing to Rome.

The bishop appeared at Rome within the stipulated time, but his accusers, although in the city to attend Otto's coronation, made no effort to secure a hearing of the case. The Pope stated that he would have been perfectly justified in rendering a verdict in favor of the bishop by default, but in his "abundance of caution" he recommitted the case to the Archbishop of Mainz, the Bishop of Würzburg, and the Abbot of Fulda. These dignitaries were ordered to procure the restoration of the properties of the Bamberg diocese, unless the charges against the bishop should even yet be sustained.[26] Since the Duke of Austria had apparently taken some of the Bamberg properties, the Archbishop of Salzburg was directed to warn him to restore them at once, together with all incomes received during the illicit tenure.[27] Excommunication and interdict of his lands were threatened in the event of non-compliance.[28]

Innocent had several encounters with the English monarchy prior to the famous controversy incident to the installation of Stephen Langton as Archbishop of Canterbury. In a letter to Richard, written in January, 1198, the Pope expressed great sadness because the king hearkened to the counsels of the wicked and frustrated the efforts the Pope was making in his behalf. The prior and monks of Canterbury complained that the king had ordered their treasures inventoried and sealed with the royal and archiepiscopal seals, without provision for the imposition of the chapter seal. Alarmed lest this pointed exclusion betokened an attempt to deprive them of their rights,

[26] Migne, P. L., CCXVI, cols. 149-150.

[27] *Ibid.*, cols. 150-151.

[28] *Ibid.*, col. 151.

the monks had protested, only to suffer confiscation of their properties in reprisal. The Pope, complaining that an old grievance which he had hoped was dead and buried now was resurrected, ordered the king to restore everything to its status prior to the issue of the royal decrees.[29]

John's offenses were more serious. On one occasion he sent the Bishop of Bath and several pledged crusaders to Innocent III with certain requests. Innocent declared that he was unable to grant all the king's desires; consequently, when the emissaries returned to England, John persecuted them and despoiled them of their properties. In his exasperation at the Pope's failure to comply with his requests, John also ordered that henceforth no heed should be paid to the mandates of papal legates, a harbinger of the policy he was to adopt in the Langton controversy. Fortunately, the Pope declared, he rescinded this order, an order the like of which no other Christian prince had dared to issue. But aside from his abuse of the Bishop of Bath and his diplomatic associates, he was oppressing the Bishop of Poitiers and impeding elections to vacant prelacies so that he might continue to enjoy the revenues, particularly in the See of Lincoln. The king, exhorted to honor the Roman Church and to desist from his contumacy, was ordered to make prompt amends for his offenses.[30]

John's oppression of the Bishop of Limoges also stirred the Pontiff's indignation. The king had seized manors and other episcopal possessions, even offerings dedicated to St. Leonard, to say nothing of illegal exactions imposed on the diocesan clergy. "If only the king would realize how much harm and sadness he inflicted upon the whole Church by his conduct," the Pope complained, aside from the anxiety occasioned at Rome by such irreverent and ignominious treatment of bishops. Should the Pope refrain from taking action, his own conscience would accuse him, and he, therefore, ordered John immediately to restore all the bishop's possessions if he wished to avoid imposition of an interdict on his kingdom.[31]

Seizure of church properties by laymen was a virtually inevitable

[29] *Ibid.*, CCXIV, col. 451.
[30] *Ibid.*, cols. 1175-1177.
[31] *Ibid.*, col. 1036.

result of the creation of the Latin Kingdom of Constantinople by the ill-fated Fourth Crusade and the consequent transition of the Greek Church to Roman Catholic control. The Archbishopric of Larissa was a frequent sufferer from spoliation. In one instance, the metropolitan and his suffragans complained that the Constable of Romania, the imperial bailiff, and other laymen had seized monasteries and other properties in his province, claiming the right of advowson *(jus patronatus)*. Laymen accordingly were refusing to pay tithes to ecclesiastical institutions affected in view of their illegal tenure, and the Pope ordered immediate restitution.[32]

The Countess of Montferrat also enriched herself at the expense of the Larissan archdiocese, despite the admonitions of the Metropolitans of Athens and Thebes. The Pope ordered that she be compelled to give up the properties she had seized on pain of ecclesiastical censures.[33] She also was compelled to give up properties belonging to the chapter of the Cathedral of St. Sophia of Constantinople.[34] In 1210, the emperor himself was ordered to permit the Archbishop of Larissa to regain what rightfully belonged to him.[35]

In another case, the Bishop of Dimicus, in Thessaly, complained that three days after his consecration he had to leave his diocese on business. He entrusted the management of certain properties during his absence to the Constable of the Kingdom of Thessalonica, later called the Constable of Romania, but the lay official refused to return them, even three years after the bishop made formal request. As a result of the constable's recalcitrance, the diocese was reduced to such penury that only three clerics could be supported by its income. Innocent, in letters of July 14, 1208 and July 5, 1210, ordered the return of the illicitly held property,[36] and at the time of the second letter he also directed the constable to make similar restitution to the Diocese of Cardica which he had despoiled, "lest the Lord Christ,

[32] *Ibid.*, CCXVI, cols. 298, 301.

[33] *Ibid.*, col. 299.

[34] *Ibid.*, cols. 456-457.

[35] *Ibid.*, col. 297.

[36] *Ibid.*, CCXV, cols. 1434-1435; CCXVI, cols. 299-300. For identification of the see, cf. P. B. Gams, *Series episcoporum ecclesiae Catholicae* (Leipzig, 1931), p. 432.

provoked by his sins, arise against him and deprive him of far more than he gained by his disobedience."[37]

Several communes of northern Italy, long a thorn in the side of the Papacy, were subjected to censure for infringement of the property rights of the Church. In writing of the podesta and populace of the city of Urbino, Innocent declared that he had countenanced their insolence, expecting that clemency would induce repentence for the wrongs inflicted upon the Church. Instead, the citizenry had become more obstreperous, until their sins were even graver than their earlier offenses; as a culmination to their outrages they stole church property at Acquapendente "before the Pope's own eyes." Innocent ordered restoration of this property within twenty-five days, upon pain of excommunication and interdict in the event of disobedience of his orders. If the city authorities failed to comply promptly with the Pontiff's orders, they were also threatened with the imposition of a fine of 4,000 marks, in addition to ecclesiastical penalties, so that "they would be more aware of the weight of apostolic displeasure."[38]

Another case arose involving merchants of Pisa. The judge of Torres, in Sardinia, had taken an oath to the Pisans in which he promised to order execution of judgments against alleged debtors upon presentation of documentary evidence by Pisan creditors. Not only laymen, but even clergy had been forced to settle alleged debts upon the demand of the Pisans, with the result that not only were sums collected that were not actually owed, but, in a number of instances, the same debt was repaid by churchmen two or even three times. The judge was warned that neither he nor the Pisans could submit clergy to secular judgment, oath or no oath, and he was ordered to desist from his illegal practices "lest in trying to please the Pisans he offend God and the Holy See."[39]

[37] Migne, P. L., CCXVI, cols. 300-301.

[38] *Ibid.*, col. 84.

[39] *Ibid.*, CCXV, col. 31. In another case, Innocent declared that the Archbishop of Torres (Sassari in Sardinia) was not bound to pay debts incurred by a predecessor unless payment would redound to the advantage of the Church. *Ibid.*, col. 430. The authorities of Cremona were excommunicated for attempting to tallage the clergy of that diocese. A. Theiner (Ed.), *Vetera monumenta Slav-*

The city of Parma incurred the Pope's anger as a result of the robbery of one of his legates. Both the legate's private funds and sums belonging to the Pope were stolen, and, although the bishop, consul, and other civil dignitaries had restored part of the money, their promise to repay the remainder was not fulfilled. The partial settlement nonetheless induced the legate to relax the sentences of excommunication and interdict he had imposed on the city and its officials. Innocent declared that since it was the policy of the Holy See to be merciful to those who acknowledged the error of their ways he was willing to waive repayment of the whole sum that had been stolen, provided those actually guilty of the theft were brought to justice.[40] When Simon de Montfort, leader of the Albigensian Crusade, was robbed of 5,000 marks sometime after the successful siege of Carcassonne, the Pope was not so indulgent. He ordered strict enforcement of the sentences of excommunication that had been promulgated against those in any way implicated in the robbery.[41]

Lay interference with the election and installation of clergy sometimes was sufficiently serious to warrant papal intervention. For example, when the Bishop of Prague died, a cleric was installed in the prelacy by the exercise of lay influence, "although neither his morals nor his way of life fitted him for the Church." The Pope ordered the illicit incumbent's immediate removal so that the canons could proceed with a legitimate election. The Archbishop of Magdeburg was entrusted with responsibility for insuring compliance with the papal mandate, and the Duke of Bohemia was ordered to lend all necessary assistance.[42] The Pope also learned that benefices were being filled by "lay intrusion" in the Diocese of Auxerre. Incumbents were installed

orum meridionalium historiam illustrantia (Rome, 1863), I, 61, no. 200. The King of Sweden also had to be reminded that clergy could not be brought before secular courts. J. Liljegren (Ed.), *Svenskt Diplomatarium*, 5 vols. in 8 (Stockholm, 1829-1867), I, 154, no. 127. For other cases of attempts to extort payments from the clergy cf. A. Potthast, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1875), I, nos. 3415, 3434, 4327, 4904.

[40] Migne, P. L., CCXIV, col. 372.

[41] M. Bouquet (Ed.), *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 24 vols. (Paris, 1900-1904), XIX, 525.

[42] Migne, P. L., CCXIV, cols. 69-70.

who were not qualified and who "could not have secured benefices through normal and legitimate channels." The archbishop was ordered to strip such unworthy incumbents of their benefices if their immediate ecclesiastical superiors did not take the initiative in doing so.[43]

Many cases occurred where laymen claimed the *jus patronatus* giving them the right to present candidates for vacant benefices. Disputes as to the validity of such rights naturally arose, most of which, if submitted to the Papacy, were handled in a routine manner. Occasionally, however, allegations of fraud were so grave as to necessitate a papal pronouncement of a more general character. In the Diocese of Winchester, for example, laymen with the *jus patronatus* had devised an ingenious scheme to retain the income of the benefices for themselves. When a vacancy ensued, they granted the benefice to a relative, with a merely nominal stipend, such as a pound of pepper or wax per year, or an annual monetary payment of one bezant. The remainder of the incomes the patrons kept for themselves. They even arranged that this corrupt practice could be continued after their demise by providing in their wills that their heirs should continue to fill the benefices by paying only nominal stipends to the incumbents. Needless to say, Innocent III ordered this practice stopped at once.[44]

The triumphs of the Church in the thirteenth century seem all the more remarkable when considered against the turbulent background of the age when the feudal nobility had not as yet yielded completely to the nascent national monarchies and the bourgeoisie were just beginning to exert a considerable influence. The correspondence of Innocent III, with its eloquent evidence of the ceaseless struggle the Church was forced to wage in defense of its independence and integrity, strengthens appreciation of its accomplishments with fuller realization of the difficulties that had to be surmounted.

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[43] *Ibid.*, cols. 20, 70.

[44] *Ibid.*, CCXV, col. 724.

MISCELLANY

Conditions in Guam in 1678

In the January, 1946, issue of the REVIEW there was published a translation of an account of missionary activities in the Marianas Islands from June, 1681, to June, 1682. The reader is referred to that document for some details of the origin of the missionary work in those islands.

Herewith are presented some excerpts from a letter written in Guam in 1678 by Father Emmanuel de Solórzano, and to the best of our knowledge these excerpts have never been published. They are preserved in a set of manuscripts copied from the originals and presented to Georgetown University in 1854 by the Reverend George Schwarz, S.J., of Vienna, Austria. The translation from the original Latin was done by the undersigned.

Father Emmanuel de Solórzano was born at Fregenal, Spain, on December 25, 1649, and was admitted to the Society of Jesus on March 21, 1666. He was sent to the Marianas Islands where he became vice-provincial of that mission and died at the hands of the natives on March 24, 1684.

William C. Repetti

Georgetown University

I came to this island and the principal residence of our Mission in the Marianas, that is to Agadna,[1] on June 20, 1676, and three days later, with one companion, I commenced to work in this vineyard of the Lord, and I conferred baptism on a little girl whom I named Mary.

Our mode of travel is to go on foot with stick in hand, which has a cross on top, without bag or wallet; ordinarily we make the journey bare-legged to the knees (many streams compel us to this), not without many and serious injuries to the feet from brambles and thorns and the burning heat of the sand.

The island of San Juan,[2] as much as is known, is very fertile and pleasing and easily produces crops, fruits and plants of the Philippines and New Spain which are sown in it. Its climate is temperate and very healthful, such as I have not experienced in my life. Spring lasts during eight months of the year; during four heat prevails, namely, June, July,

[1] One of the early variations of the name Guam.

[2] The name given to Guam by the missionaries.

August and September, although on account of frequent rains it is then greatly tempered, and even though one perspires greatly, it is not accompanied by fatigue and strain which one feels in Spain even without perspiration.

The produce and ordinary fruits of this land are grain and various roots, which are called Sago, Nica, Suni. Many kinds of fruit: bananas and certain large trees, like nut trees, which they call Limay, the fruit of which takes its name from the tree itself and lasts with abundance for six months, beginning in April. It serves also for bread and a kind of biscuit, if dried in the sun. There are also chickens which flew ashore in these islands from boats. There are gourds, purslane, basil, jasmine and wild lilies, but of pleasing odor.

Four or five years ago animals were brought in: pigs, small cattle, dogs, and cats. There is no wild animal in these islands, no wolves, foxes, small dogs, or rabbits; birds are very scarce, some are sea birds which feed on small fish, some are land birds but utterly useless, although not harmful. There are some bats the size of chickens, which the Indians eat, combining some superstition; also some pumpkins and melons, and the land could bear in abundance all the fruits of a very warm climate if the populace were numerous and not hindered by persecutions which they have suffered hitherto. The coco, the fruit of the palm, is in abundance during the whole year; from it is obtained a good oil, and a wine can also be secured, but up to the present drunkeness has not made its appearance among the inhabitants and they are ignorant of it. The uses and advantages of the coconut are too many to enumerate.

The inhabitants of both sexes are very robust and white, nor have I seen a more corpulent race, which arouses horror in those recently arrived. They have great strength, are well proportioned, and many are similar to Spaniards in their features, although swarthy in color because of nudity and the effects of air, climate, sun, sea, dye and oil, with which they cover the whole body, although they are born white. Those who have more dealing with us feel somewhat ashamed at walking about naked. Cupidity is inborn in all Indians and they seek clothes, although they can endure them for scarcely two hours; however, the more cultured wear a kind of light shoes, and rarely a little breast plate and this only by a few.

I do not speak about our schools for boys and girls who are trained like Spaniards. We labor that they may progress as Christians and influential persons and attend the Christian doctrine with all possible decency. They have very great strength and each one of them picks up one of ours under each arm and easily carries them across a stream. They cut the hair to the skin, except the top which they leave in the form of a lock, smaller, however, than those in Andalusia; but we try to introduce

the contrary custom among the faithful, persuading them to wear the hair like Andalusians.

The women allow their hair, which is usually red, to grow; they also go about wholly nude, although the greater sense of shame which is inherent in their sex, prompts them to cover the private parts, which the poorer classes do with green leaves and the upper classes with a turtle shell. We endeavor to have the converts clothe themselves with some kind of cloth, but up to the present little has been accomplished. Their principal ornament is to make a star of jasmine and place it on the forehead, and they even have bells and other childish things and trifles with which to decorate themselves.

The Urritaos, or unmarried men, are the most unrestrained and offer the most resistance until totally subdued by arms. The distinguished among them wear bands made of very fine tree bark around their heads, and others on the points of their garlands. These Urritaos have very pernicious vices, namely, to buy girls for their infamous practices. In each village there is one house, in more populous villages two, of Urritaos. Those who live in these communal houses come to the father of some girl and give him a pair of iron barrel hoops, which they buy from some ship in exchange for turtle shells, or one or two swords, whereupon the father joyfully turns over his daughter as if he were placing her in the best of positions, and they take her with them to the communal house and after some time she remains married to one of them and they build themselves a house that they may live apart. Many of the houses of the Urritaos have been destroyed by us and in place of them we have established orphanages for boys and girls in which they are trained with great care in religion, deportment and other accomplishments needed in a Christian commonwealth.

Some days after my arrival I was assigned to a Residence called Ayran and on July 11th I embarked to go to the place of my ministry (one year previously we had embarked at Cádiz to come to this Mission).[3]

It would be too long to narrate all the perils of boat travel among these people; suffice it to say that three times in the space of two months I have been in danger of drowning when the boat which bore us perished. When the wind rises a little and stirs up waves it is necessary to carry a bailer, for the water piles up and comes into the boat, and even in the calm we touch the water with our hands. There is no protection in the boats from the heat of the sun or the rains, whence it happens that a storm wets us from head to foot, the sun quickly comes out and heats and dries the clothes on our bodies; once I was compelled to travel this way with only a skull cap on my head, because the wind had blown away my hat.

[3] The name Ayran has disappeared from the geography of Guam.

The disturbances of this year had their beginning in my Residence, Ayran, as will be seen in the Relation, where, by the favor of God, I escaped fire by a slight margin, and afterwards the spears of the natives who started the fire. If they had known me to be in the Residence they would have sent me to the vision of Christ; I was alone with one secular who, during the fire, thought me dead and the natives who had gathered believed this. They did not see me and they said that the Father had been wiped out, but I ran quickly to remove the pictures from the church, which had already begun to burn, and they were saved by diligent effort, as also were the Marianas boys and girls of the schools.

This was the first assault by which the Indians showed themselves to be enemies, and soon they were joined by others. God permitted that this good occasion of martyrdom, which I missed because I lacked the disposition which God requires in him whom He chooses for that dignity, should be that of the martyrdom which the son of my Province, Venerable Father Sebastián de Monroy, merited for himself by his apostolic life and heroic virtues.[4] Father Juan de Aumada, who came from the same novitiate as Father Sebastián and is a man of great virtue and blameless life, barely escaped perishing at the same time. Father Aumada was the companion of Father Sebastián, but, by a singular providence of God, a few days before this misfortune happened, he was called from the Residence by the superior, lest that subject be lost to us.[5]

The dangers in which we were immersed this year will be told in the Relation itself and here I will merely relate what is necessary. I will say that during my life I have not dug more than I have during the short time I have been here, in order to sow and reap a little Indian maize; forsooth, a great famine, a great dearth of supplies, besieged by enemies on all sides, hemmed in everywhere, confined in a space of 150 paces in length and width within a stockade of logs, which seemed more like a place of victims and sacrifice rather than an armed camp. It was defended by 40 men, all of whom I would exchange for ten strong men; some of them were lame, some afflicted with other defects, and all lacking courage at the sight of the innumerable spears and barbarians. And therefore, lest all should utterly perish, and the cause of God and the king might be

[4] Father Sebastián de Monroy was born at Arajal, in the Province of Andalusia, Spain, in 1648 and entered the Society of Jesus on June 23, 1672, already ordained sub-deacon. He pronounced his first vows on Guam on June 24, 1676, and was sent to the village of Orote. He was killed on September 6, 1676, at Sumay while endeavoring to reach safety at Agana.

[5] Father Juan de Aumada was born at Cáceres, Spain, on July 15, 1636, and entered the Society of Jesus on January 8, 1672, having studied canon law for five years.

defended, as also our lives, which were extremely necessary lest our enemies lose the eternal, it was necessary for us religious to take up arms and in this way encourage the others, resisting the enemy; and if this did not succeed all would be lost. And four or five religious, even without firing a shot, put to flight an immense horde of barbarians who thought, and correctly, that there were no soldiers among us, and so they tried to burn us and take our lives, not knowing that the Fathers did not know how to handle arms. But when they saw us show so much determination they betook themselves to flight, leaving us victorious without wound or blood.

This affliction of God lasted six months, and finally taking pity on us, His justice seemed placated for so many souls and He abundantly poured forth his mercy, giving us courage and strength to build up the first structure of mud and stone in these islands, a very good and strong church which would serve also a stronghold. All houses are constructed after its pattern and when the expected ship arrives with help the fortress will be erected, together with a stretch of wall, so that the presidio will have shape, of which nothing of the kind hitherto existed.

The labors and calamities, poured down upon us from heaven, were benefits, so that once this Christianity is established, as I hope in God if the help of these two boats does not fail us this year and the next, this whole island will be subdued and this will be the most flourishing mission among the missions of the Society; none is more apostolic up to the present, none will be in the future. Although the works of our missionaries may be attended with success, many difficulties will be experienced, obvious dangers to life at almost every step, shipwrecks, heat of sun, rain, hunger, the greatest fatigue, and many others of every kind; and so this mission needs very prudent and virtuous men, unless some, such as I, come to wipe out their sins and faults, and in all things God knows that I speak the truth.

But I am more content with my lot than I have ever been with others, nor would I exchange my Marianas except for heaven; for, as is said, that is golden which is worth gold and has no price, because a religious may see himself in such a just and holy cause seeking the glory of God and the salvation of souls, because he may see himself among so many barbarians, in the midst of dangers, and between two Marianas islands one commits himself to a shell, as the little boats are called, of which the fabric is of separate boards, not joined by any nails, but held together by weak ligaments and cords, so that the occupants are very wet although there may not be a breath of air, or are burned to the very bone.

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

La pensée et l'action sociales des catholiques, 1789-1944. By ROBERT KOTHEN. (Louvain: Em. Warny, Imprimeur-Editeur. 1945. Pp. 600.)

One year after the war we are just beginning to receive publications from the western European countries that were so completely cut off by the occupation. One of the most remarkable signs of recovery is that of Belgium. Aside from the striking material come-back, to which all who have been there recently attest, there is an equally remarkable Catholic intellectual revival. Reviews, magazines, and books are starting once more to flow. The present volume from the pen of the prolific Abbé Kothen is evidence that the Belgians, even during the eclipse of occupation, did not cease to give attention to scholarly production.

Abbé Kothen is perhaps best known for a wide range of works that include studies of the Russian revolution, the recent war, and various aspects of the social question. He follows the brilliant tradition of his country in dealing with a wide variety of aspects of the social problem. The best known of his more recent studies are: *Les écoles sociologiques, Les théories économiques contemporaines,* and *Le socialisme.*

The present volume is one that has been sorely needed for a long time. The growth of social consciousness among Catholics everywhere cannot fail to have made a profound impression. But even among those devoted to this form of action, it has been difficult to get a clear cut idea of the whole panorama of the thing. Of course, the standard facts have been well known: the origins of modern Catholic social thinking; the labor of the precursors: von Ketteler, Vogelzang, and the French school. We are all aware that contemporary Catholic social teachings are divided broadly as before and after Leo XIII. But it is useful to pull all of this vast material together into a single volume and harmonize it. The introduction, written by Cardinal Van Roey, calls attention to the sweep of the book and the mine of information that it contains. Catholics who are perplexed because their co-religionists have done nothing while socialists, social-democrats, and all other forms of ideological *colporteurs* have been peddling their wares, may take heart from this thick volume. There is no assurance that Catholics have always been outstandingly successful, but there is certainly no dearth of activity and productive activity at that.

The most significant part of the volume is that devoted to Catholic social action after Leo XIII and *Quadragesimo Anno.* Here we have a nation by nation score card, so to speak, of what has been said and done.

It is perfectly clear that the Belgian author has simply not been able to bring his information up to date. Since the book was published almost before the odor of the occupation had been dissipated, the wonder is that the lacunae are not greater than they are. It is hardly to be expected that under German occupation, Abbé Kothen could keep himself aware of what was transpiring in Spain, Latin America, Canada, or the United States. Awareness of what was going on in Belgium itself was probably no small task. The consequence is that for many areas the information is sketchy. For all Latin America the only work cited is that of Amoroso Lima in Brazil. The Semaines Sociales of Montreal and the Province of Quebec are dispatched in a short paragraph.

The United States is better treated with extensive comment on the work of the National Catholic Welfare Conference in its various departments and on other outstanding social action activities of Catholics. It is to be hoped that now with communication revived the author will bring out another edition with this information that will reveal enormous progress since 1940. Even Latin America, where social action has not been too well developed, has made great progress and it is worthy of being recorded.

RICHARD PATTEE

National Catholic Welfare Conference

Edmund Campion. By EVELYN WAUGH. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co. 1946. Pp. x, 239. $2.75.)

Edmund Campion is not a traditional biography, and it is evident that Evelyn Waugh did not intend it to be such. His purpose seems to have been to give a clear picture of the environment accompanying the Elizabethian persecution and to show its influence upon the brilliant young Campion. The formation of that environment, the author points out, had its beginning during the reign of Henry VIII, following the king's break with the Holy See. However, he did not do violence to the faith of his subjects as a result of that break. Rather, he created an atmosphere where it became proper or good policy to recognize his spiritual supremacy. It did not matter who exercised supreme spiritual power so long as the Church remained unchanged, such seemed to be the conclusion reached by a majority of the confused people. Bewilderment and uncertainty replaced the peaceful calm of their hearts. There was a consequent lessening of fervor, a chilling of zeal, and a growing tendency towards religious indifference. Edmund Campion was born and spent his youth amidst such an environment of mental bewilderment and its effects led him to adopt a perverted standard of success—a brilliant career and acceptance into the class of the social élite. With the problems of religion he

seems to have been unconcerned. During the period between the death of Henry in 1547 and the accession of Elizabeth in 1558, his only anxiety seems to have been the determined pursuit of the career which he had set for himself.

The early years of Elizabeth's reign witnessed a renewal of the state of religious bewilderment among the people, although she seems to have done nothing that seriously disturbed their religious sensibilities. It is true that Elizabeth outlawed the Mass after she had fallen under the influence of Cecil, but to the people that seemed merely a matter of public policy and the Holy Sacrifice was still offered in private. Besides, to their confused minds it did not appear to matter whether the Mass was offered by a priest who had retired into poverty in order to remain loyal to Rome or by him who had foresworn that loyalty to achieve preference; to the average mind the distinction between the worthiness of the two classes of celebrants was too subtle to cause serious misgivings. And the king's Mass was well attended. Edmund Campion seems to have fallen into this popular delusion.

Campion was twenty-six before he merited a formal introduction by the author. He was already "a person of considerable influence" at Oxford. He took it as a matter of course that he would one day take holy orders in the Established Church. Apparently he had already taken the oath of loyalty and had been ordained deacon by an Anglican bishop according to the routine of the university. His religious bewilderment, however, remained with him, causing him to put off as long as possible the taking of holy orders. In the course of time his program required that he take up the study of the fathers, and it was during this period that he became religiously conscious. He found comfort and substance in the teachings of Augustine and Thomas à Becket, while Cheney and Frindal, of the queen's staff, became barren and uninspiring. Gradually the conviction came to him that the Anglican Church was but an empty shell because it had cut itself off from the source of spirituality which had inspired these holy doctors.

Patrology served to resolve Campion's perplexity and planted in his heart the seed of the true faith. He could no longer find comfort at the university and withdrew without experiencing the expected feeling of regret over the abandonment of his preferment and his promising career. He had never declared himself for the queen's cause, although his friends had urged him to do so, but the failure had produced no sense of personal peril, at least not until Pius V formally excommunicated Elizabeth. This action led to an immediate campaign of intensified persecution and resulted in the adoption of new and ingenious methods, entrapment, and punishment. Thereafter, Campion was a hunted man; he was forced to flee from one place of concealment to another, until he could make his

escape to the continent. Somewhere, during that period, he was reconciled to the Church, and upon his arrival in France he found refuge at Douai where many English aspirants were being trained for the priesthood. Three years later, he entered the Society of Jesus and was sent to Prague where he spent six peaceful years.

In 1580, religious obedience caused him to return to his native land, in company with two fellow-religious, "to labor for the preservation and augmentation of the faith of Catholics in England." Elizabeth's persecution had entered upon the ruthless stage, and there was no room for diffidence. But Campion was no longer drifting with the environment. Years of meditation and obedience had fortified him well for the task which lay before him. Forgetful of self, burning with zeal, he devoted himself to the salvation of the faith in England. Mr. Waugh treats this period in Campion's life in a masterful manner. Throughout in his simple, vivid account of the diabolical forces set loose by Cecil, he carries the theme of the humble missionary as he treads his alert course in quest of the pitiful remnant of the once illustrious Church in England. Waugh shows, too, how Campion's brilliant intellect was made to serve his cause. A series of religious debates, waged by means of secret pamphlets, and climaxed by a public discussion, forced upon him under circumstances that could have been conceived only by a thoroughly debased mind, gave him the opportunity to achieve his greatest success in re-establishing the prestige of the old Church in the hearts of those whose loyalty was sorely tested.

Campion returned to England in the full knowledge that it would lead to his death. He desired martyrdom earnestly, although obedience compelled him to avoid any wilful provocation which might hasten it. But when, in the Tower of London, the judge pronounced sentence, it must have made even his stout heart wince: "You shall be drawn . . . to the place of execution, and there be hanged and let down alive, and your privy parts cut off, and your entrails taken out and burnt in your sight; then your head to be cut off and your body divided into four parts to be disposed of at her Majesty's pleasure."

JAMES P. KEHOE

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AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

Religion in America. By WILLARD L. SPERRY, Dean of the Harvard Divinity School (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1946. Pp. xi, 318. $2.50.)

This volume was written to explain the present situation of religion in America to an English audience. The dean of the Harvard Divinity

School undoubtedly is equipped to write such a survey from the liberal Protestant viewpoint. It will surprise none, however, if orthodox Protestants and non-Protestants dissent.

Inevitably, the author touches upon history. It would be a pointless task to list his sins of omission or to note the reservations and corrections that should be made. To show the general tenor of the volume, it will be sufficient to cite one example. After mention of the edict of Milan, the author continues: "One cannot read many of the details in the subsequent record of the dominant and reigning church of the next millenium without finding sober warrant for Dean Inge's remark, . . . 'Like certain ministers of state, the Church has always done well in opposition, and badly in office'" (p. 47). With generalizations of such a nature, it is impossible to deal.

In his discussion of Protestantism, the author treats many aspects well and at length. Others, however, do not receive the attention they deserve. While he notes the uniquely American fact that over half our Protestants are Baptists or Methodists (p. 76), he dismisses this situation, which clamors for explanation, in a few sentences. He discusses at length the Mormons, the Christian Scientists, and the handful of Unitarians, while our millions of Lutherans are barely mentioned. While he stresses the fact that the smaller and stranger Protestant sects have a constituency drawn almost wholly from the lower economic classes, he touches but lightly on the converse truth—that the major Protestant sects appeal chiefly, if not exclusively, to the middle and upper classes of American society. Apparently he does not feel that the caste system in Protestantism is a defect. Indeed, he writes: "A proper pride might prompt me to say something of American Congregationalism; its identification in 6,000 parishes with a great upper-middle-class constituency of nearly a million persons, rather than the people at the two extremes of the social scale . . ." (pp. 113-114). Other Protestant churchmen do not find such a situation an occasion for pride, but for self-searching and lament.

With the unconscious arrogance found in many Protestant authors, Dr. Sperry practically adequates "religion" and "Protestantism." In his general discussion, the Eastern Orthodox are mentioned in passing, and the Jews receive a few paragraphs. The statistics used by the author show that there are three Catholics in America for every five Protestants (p. 74). Yet in the chapter on the "Parish Church," Catholicism receives five lines; in "American Theology," merely a hint of some underground Modernism; in "Religious Education," a half dozen sentences.

Inevitably in such a volume one of the latter chapters is alloted to the Catholic Church. A book which claims to interpret religion in the

United States should, one would expect, be based on some little research. Dr. Sperry used one volume. There is an adage about men of a single book; the author does not disprove it. That he did not have a larger selection of recent general histories of Catholicism in the United States may not be laid to his charge. But with the wealth of monographs on American Catholic history, it is not exactly laudable that the author, for two supplementary citations, pp. (214, 215), dug from its merited grave that superannuated and superfluous volume, Dorchester's *Christianity in the United States.*

On the basis, then, of Maynard's *Story of American Catholicism,* Dr. Sperry attempts an historical survey. It begins with the discovery of America by a Catholic, a fact in which, the author believes it necessary to note, "Catholic historians take much pride . . .," though "it could hardly have been otherwise . . ." (p. 200). The story, marked by similar assents with civil leer, then leaps a century to British Catholic colonization, and is carried down to about the year 1850, at which point the author gives up his attempt. It is apparent that Theodore Maynard would not wholeheartedly approve the portrait of Catholicism drawn from his volume. The author's chapter ends with a compilation of Protestant suspicions and criticisms of Catholicism.

The book would prove of use to those interested in a liberal Protestant view of some elements of religion in America. Several worthwhile appendices of an historical or statistical nature, by another hand, have been added. There is no bibliography.

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Hallowed Were the Gold Dust Trails. The Story of the Pioneer Priests of Northern California. By HENRY L. WALSH, S.J. (Santa Clara: University of Santa Clara Press. 1946. Pp. xii, 559. $4.00.)

Although no definitive history of the California Church in the mission era has yet appeared, an immense amount of work has been done, and most of the available material has been sought out, especially by Engelhardt. Such is not the case, however, for the transition phase of California church history, and the early days of the hierarchy in the Golden State. The secular story of the forty-niners, and the glamor and squalor of bonanzas is, indeed, well known, but the vast work of the Church and its priests in that time of phenomenal growth is already almost a forgotten page. Father Walsh has given us a splendid work in which the evidence of diocesan archives, letters of bishops and missionaries to their alma mater, and to friends, gleanings from contemporary newspapers, and the

copious use of evidence of eyewitnesses gathered through the years, are skilfully interwoven.

Confining himself chiefly to the territory of the present Diocese of Sacramento, and emphasizing individual personality, and the stream of personal record of bishops and priests, Father Walsh has allowed us to view the colorful, and at times heroic, scene of the spiritual side of the gold-rush days through the eyes of the actors. The cultured, and subtly humorous letters of Bishop O'Connell of Marysville and Grass Valley, for instance, reveal in a striking light, the greatness of the man, and at the same time his limitations in that strange new world.

It is invidious, perhaps, to try to discover defects in such a splendid pioneer effort. Non-Californians may be irked somewhat by the exuberance of style in many places concerning the Golden State. There are some purple patches, too, upon the Celt. It is hardly true that the Anglo-Saxon received his knowledge of government from that source (p. 53). Cardinal Billot, "the Jesuit Cardinal," is given a part in the activities of the Vatican Council (p. 422). Undoubtedly Cardinal Bilio is meant. Occasionally documentation of quotations is omitted. Last of all it is regrettable that there is not included a critical essay on the sources. This would have enhanced the value of the book for future workers.

These limitations, however, are of small significance in a volume written with poetic ardor and literary grace, yet crowded with works and days that should live forevermore.

PATRICK J. DIGNAN

Los Angeles, California

By Cross and Anchor, The Story of Frederic Baraga on Lake Superior. By JAMES K. JAMISON. (Paterson, New Jersey: St. Anthony Guild Press. 1946. Pp. xi, 225. $2.50.)

This is neither biography nor history in its proper sense. It has an historical theme and Mr. Jamison has given us an account of the missionary career of Frederic Baraga in story form. However, the author would have us know that it is not pure fiction for "every date is historically accurate; every deed attributed to Father Baraga is founded on the record; every experience incorporated in the story is drawn from indisputable sources" (p. vii).

Frederic Baraga was a Catholic missionary who distinguished himself by his heroic labors among the Chippewa Indians in the Upper Michigan peninsula during the middle period of the nineteenth century. He was born in the province of Carniola in the old Austro-Hungarian Empire (now part of Jugoslavia). Already a university graduate in civil law, he decided to study for the priesthood. He was ordained in 1823. The estab-

lishment of the Leopoldine Foundation in Vienna in 1829, an organization founded to give financial aid to the North American missions, turned Baraga's thoughts to a missionary career. His bishop readily gave his consent and he departed for America, the Leopoldine Foundation's first candidate for the Indian missions.

He arrived in the United States in 1831 and from that year until his death in 1868, his entire life was devoted to the conversion of the savages in the vast reaches of the Lake Superior country. On July 29, 1853, the scene of his labors was detached from the Diocese of Detroit and erected into a vicariate apostolic. Baraga was named its first vicar apostolic and invested with the character of bishop on November 1 of that year. Three years later the vicariate was raised to the status of a diocese and its see city located at Sault Ste. Marie. Baraga was named its first bishop. The Holy See later transferred the seat of the diocese to Marquette where it has since been located. After a long life devoted to the spiritual and temporal betterment of both the Indians under his care and the miners of the newly-opened iron and copper mines of northern Michigan, Bishop Baraga died on January 19, 1868, at the age of seventy-one years.

Mr. Jamison has given us a satisfactory account of his life for the general reader. However, one would desire a smoother literary style. *By Cross and Anchor* makes difficult reading, despite the interesting subject. Too many unimportant incidents and events in the life of Baraga are included. On the other hand, a number of important happenings are completely ignored. Mr. Jamison seems to take no notice of the equally heroic work of Father Francis Pierz, who came to America through Baraga's influence and who was closely associated with Baraga for some twenty years. The two missionaries first met at La Pointe in 1838 for a joint consultation and Pierz ultimately succeeded Baraga at L'Anse and Arbre Croche, although Jamison gives no indication of this. The two were in constant communication with each other and both were very successful in their work. In view of this, it is difficult to understand Jamison's statement that "for twenty years, except during short sojourns in Detroit and Cincinnati, Bishop Baraga had rarely seen another priest. For twenty years he himself had been the parish priest of Lake Superior" (p. 183). Moreover, it not fair to say that "aloof as he [Baraga] was from the main current of the mineral development, he began to notice the pressure of it even on his own Indians" (p. 132). Baraga had closely watched the mining ventures and was quick to supply his spiritual ministrations to the miners. There are numerous other interpretations of Baraga's motives and actions with which this reviewer cannot agree. Jamison's account of the transfer of the see from Sault Ste. Marie to Marquette likewise is not in agreement with the documents. Letters of Baraga, still extant, show an entirely different story. "Cebul" is the correct spelling of that mission-

ary's name, not "Chebul" (pp. 191-2). Only one typographical error was discovered—the word "satchel" for "sachel" (p. 191).

Mr. Jamison's acknowledgements and bibliography show that he has done rather extensive reading for his book. His bibliography, however, is limited to the English accounts of Baraga's life. It is unfortunate that he did not consult some of the better Slovene lives. In fairness to the author, the reader should be informed that Mr. Jamison is a non-Catholic who was influenced to write the story of Baraga because of an admiration for the "apostle of the Chippewas" which dates back to his boyhood days.

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Claude Dubuis, Bishop of Galveston. By L. V. JACKS. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1946. Pp. ix, 268. $2.50.)

When the first Bishop of Galveston, John Odin, C.M., was promoted to the Archdiocese of New Orleans in 1861, Claude Dubuis succeeded the Vincentian pioneer. Dubuis had come to the Southwest in 1846 from France. Consecrated in 1862, he governed the pan-Texas Church until its partition in 1874, when he retained the eastern sector. At sixty-five, in 1882, he retired to his native land, leaving to his coadjutor, Nicholas Gallagher, the administration of the diocese. Ten years later he surrendered his Texas title and was transferred to the See of Arca *in partibus infidelium.* He died in France in 1895. Most of these facts serve as groundwork for Mr. Jacks' portrayal of the second Bishop of Galveston.

Regretfully the reviewer must state that his examination of this newest contribution to Catholic Texana has been a mounting experience in disappointment. From the threefold viewpoint of sources, structural method, and style, the book falls far short of standard biographical requirements.

Regarding the first, Mr. Jacks must be charged with grave remissness. He made next to none of the research essential to a dependable reconstruction of the past. He formally enters the lists of historical scholarship with the claim, stated in a bibliographical appendix, that he "investigated much material that does not appear" in his book. This suppressed "material," however, is plainly not of the manuscript order. The sole archival item which he gives evidence of having handled is a community narrative put at his disposal by the Sisters of Charity of the Incarnate Word at San Antonio. Seemingly he tried to locate no further epistolary, reportorial, or documentary sources, terminating his efforts when told that the archives of the Archdiocese of New Orleans and the

archives of Kenrick Seminary, St. Louis, contain none of Dubuis' correspondence. In the latter instance his expectations were necessarily unrewarded since the Kenrick Texas collection is wholly Vincentian and covers only the preceding prefectural and vicariate years. But inquiry would have brought from any Catholic archivist the information that the papers of a number of dioceses (including New Orleans) that fall in the half century after 1835 can be consulted at the University of Notre Dame. This rich fund of collateral, as well as direct, material Mr. Jacks, at serious cost to his work, failed to tap. Likewise, he availed himself of none of the material in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives. And, still more reprehensibly, he neglected the registers of the older Texas churches, numerous institutional records and property deeds housed in a score of Texas parochial and diocesan depositories, and, with the single exception noted above, the annals and memoirs of Texas religious groups. Insouciantly, too, he has left to others, "after the present war," the task of tracking down European data, heedless of his duty—in the absence of photostats, transcripts, drafts, and abstracts—to delay composition until he could visit foreign archives or procure copies of their relevant contents.

In the realm of published sources, although he professes to have "examined many articles, monographs, and general histories" dealing with the Dubuis decades, his book reveals the influence of not more than half a dozen special and comprehensive works. He disregarded the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* and the *Catholic Historical Review,* along with a growing library of county histories and a host of scholarly studies in religious and secular biography. Worse, he allowed a copious mine of printed primary data to go unexplored. Sure to have proved valuable in this category are the yearly volumes released by the Lyons-Paris Société de la Propagation de la Foi, by the Viennese Leopoldinen Stiftung, and by the Munich Missionsverein; and of real worth also would have been the files of contemporary newspapers accessible in the Texas State Library at Austin, all the issues of the *Catholic Almanac,* and nine or ten periodicals purveying "ecclesiastical intelligence."

The principal—almost the solitary—font of Mr. Jacks' narrative is a French life of Dubuis, published in 1900, which reproduces entire or generously excerpts a batch of letters from the pen of the Texas apostle. Incidentally, its author, a clergyman who sought anonymity under the initials "Abbé J. P.," is here cited repeatedly as "J. P. Abbe." Considering his failure to restudy the elements of this older work and supplement them through down-to-date research, Mr. Jacks would have been better advised, after acquiring a firmer grasp of the French idiom, to translate the Dubuis quotations faithfully and then critically to revise the rest. Instead he paraphrased about two thirds of its contents, sometimes aptly,

more frequently hurriedly and with insufficient interpretive skill. Ironically, much of the third that he sacrificed is significant.

Impatience in seeking fresh data caused Mr. Jacks to vitiate structural method by copying the abbé's padding and digressions and introducing extraneous ingredients of his own. Conspicuous among such amplifying devices are anecdotes of questionable authenticity and not-always-consistent psychographic analyses of motive and action applied to secondary characters as well as to the bishop. Gratuitously also, in several choice bits of stretching, Mr. Jacks, unabetted by the abbé, discredits Dubuis' fellow missionary, Emmanuel Domenech. Again, in two appendixes—B and C—he provides sheer lagniappe. Inference, assumption, and conjecture abound in his chapters. Often, too, he employs rationalization for its own sake. In some three score instances he follows a factual statement with from one to four needless elucidating sentences. All told, the volume owes perhaps one sixth of its length to reflective asides and editorial comments. And, interwoven with these superfluities, run broad stands of Indian lore, fashioned in the main by the abbé and reinforced from Webb and Richardson. In this connection, only if Dubuis, who never seriously exerted himself to benefit the border tribes, had evangelized and educated them, would an extensive discussion of his contacts with them and of their periodic depredations be warranted.

Finally, Mr. Jacks' dearth of sources is reflected in his literary style. Again and again, presumably to eke out his factual store, he loses himself in bombast and gives slack rein to his flamboyant pen. A measure of spacious and vivid writing is admittedly requisite to save biography from baldness and insipidity, but in these pages Pegasus soars and curvets uncurbed. Jumbled and unconsidered images are multiplied in pursuit of the picturesque and, more than once, a forced association warps the text to the verge of absurdity. Further, to point excessive parallels, Oedipus, St. Thomas More, the *Arabian Nights*, George Washington, La Salle, Vergil, the Flying Dutchman, Homer, Longfellow, Hennepin, St. Augustine's father, the Maccabees' mother, Tamerlane's cavalry, and Mozart's unmarked grave are pressed into use. A few of these nebulous incongruities are concentrated on pages 226 ff. First Dubuis' service in west Texas, which was not fleeting but long sustained, is misrepresented by the statement that he and the native Mexican Catholics met "like two strange ships hailing each other on an unknown sea;" next, farther on in the same passage, he becomes "a rock against which they could lean;" and he winds up in the following paragraph as "a cathedral in whose far-reaching shadow" they "lie down . . . and sleep." Still less acceptable, the spiritual and physical trials that beset the Castroville mission are ascribed to "the working of some blind and groping destiny."

Mr. Jacks has paid a double penalty for inattention to basic biographical

demands. An over-all vagueness blurs the setting of the life, and the character of the bishop is distortedly, almost fantastically, drawn. Indefiniteness of scene was unavoidable because geography is all but ignored. Delete a few incidentally mentioned towns and streams and Dubuis might have labored in Afghanistan or the Belgian Congo. At no time is he shown to function at Austin, Houston, Corpus Christi, Victoria, Brownsville, Fort Worth, or Dallas. Some of his journeys, besides being unduly dramatized and unclear as to purpose, are minus topographical termini. Similarly, Texas politics, immigration, sectarianism, economics, and social life receive unsatisfying, because merely passing and generalized, notice. Their significance to the prelate and the force of their impact on the Church the reader must gage by surmise. Nor is sufficient evidence furnished to prove that the Civil War and Reconstruction vitally touched Dubuis and his diocese.

Even the ecclesiastical scene as such never becomes clear-cut. The *Catholic Almanac* identifies the forty priests who were stationed in Texas after the war, yet Mr. Jacks brings them into no official or personal contacts with the bishop; on the contrary, he denies them, each and all, "a local habitation and a name." The Second Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1866, like the Vatican Council and the New Orleans synod of "1868" [1873]—all of which Dubuis attended—he associates with him superficially. As for the major matter of diocesan finance, he misapprehends it utterly. It is well-known that the Société de la Propagation de la Foi and other European agencies contributed liberally to the Galveston see during Reconstruction days—a fact which contradicts Mr. Jacks' fanciful picture of the prelate as a wonder-working builder *ex nihilo*. Least understandably, he fails to integrate with Dubuis' achievement and Texas church progress the activities of such important missionary and teaching groups as the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, the Jesuits, the Brothers of Mary, and the Sisters of Divine Providence. Perhaps for the first time, in an appendix constituting the last three pages of the book, he relates the bishop to his diocese very directly and concretely.

That the author has produced a hagiographical caricature, instead of a historical portrait, is only too patent. Claude Dubuis emerges not as a flesh-and-blood figure but, in over-eulogistic second-nocturn wise, as a misty paragon fabricated from all the traits that could conceivably be accumulated in the ideal missionary, priest, and prelate. This Eusebian treatment is all the more deplorable in view of the certainty that Odin's successor can stand up under an objective appraisal quite as unflinchingly as Odin himself.

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Letters of Archbishop Corrigan to Bishop McQuaid and Allied Documents. By FREDERICK J. ZWIERLEIN. (Rochester, New York: Art Print Shop. 1946. Pp. 229. $3.00.)

Catholic historical scholarship in recent decades has been immeasureably indebted to the industry and zeal of Dr. Frederick J. Zwierlein as shown in his three-volume study of the *Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid* (Rochester, 1925-1927). Prior to the publication of these volumes there had been a hesitancy to write objectively of later nineteenth-century American Catholic history, partly because so many of the leading figures of that day were still living and partly because the public controversies of the era had been so strongly argued. His richly documented study has furnished most of the original sources for other evaluations of the times. The letters of Bishop McQuaid, about which the biography was built, insure for him a permanent niche in the hall of fame of American Catholic history. But not even scholarly Dr. Zwierlein can expect subsequent research to leave untouched his interpretation of events. One can doubt even that he intended to make his hero the fighting bishop portrayed in his volumes. In the controversies of those days, as in all controversies, there were always two sides. In some of the controversies Bishop McQuaid was undoubtedly on the winning side; in others, his opponents can claim at least some justification. The present volume includes some supplementary correspondence which was not available to Dr. Zwierlein in his earlier researches. It is doubtful that these letters and documents change the picture as presented in the earlier publication.

In the first place, Dr. Zwierlein indicates that these new letters justify the position of Archbishop Corrigan and such a claim exceeds the value of the documents here presented. Most of the controversies were on matters of policy and administration. As usual in theological disputes the charge of heresy was bandied about, but the documents themselves show that personalities and political differences were far more important than dogmatic truths or moral principles. Leaders on both sides of the controversies made mistakes, but they were the mistakes of active, progressive, albeit very human bishops who were zealously trying to lead their flocks along the right way. Thus, Henry George's doctrines were privately disapproved by the Congregation of the Holy Office, to the joy of Archbishop Corrigan, but the Faribault plan of Archbishop Ireland was given a *tolerari potest,* to Corrigan's consternation. The occasional unpleasant effects in Dr. Zwierlein's volumes do not arise from the wholesome publication of letters of controversy but from his excessive zeal in interpretation. Certainly, some of the claims made in the preface of this volume are not substantiated by this small sheaf of documents. Many important elements are still absent from the picture. Pertinent documents in St. Paul, Peoria, and Philadelphia have, unfortunately, been destroyed

by persons without a Catholic historical sense, and others in Rome and New York have not yet been made available. Capable biographies of Gibbons, Ireland, and Spalding are needed to complete the picture of American Catholicism from the Third Plenary Council to the foundation of the National Catholic War Council. While Dr. Zwierlein has done a service in making these documents available to scholars, it should be realized that the editing of documents and the writing of history are two separate fields of historical scholarship and attempts to unite the two are seldom successful.

THOMAS T. MCAVOY

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MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

A la recherche de Louis XVII. By PAUL SAINTE-CLAIRE DEVILLE. (Paris: Flammarion. 1946. Pp. 458. $3.00.)

The execution of Louis XVI in January, 1793, made his surviving son, Louis-Charles, then a child of eight, the legitimate King of France. At that moment the members of the royal family were confined in a tower called the Temple in Paris. The little prince had been separated from his mother, and committed to Antoine Simon and his wife, the former a member of the Paris commune, which was responsible for the custody of the prisoners; and the politician actually heading the commune of 1793 (with its faction) was Hebert. It is evident that the little king was a hostage of supreme importance to the republic, hard pressed by Spain and the royalist revolt in the Vendée. Nonetheless, the republic allowed him to die of a tuburcular ailment, aggravated by cruel neglect, on June 8, 1795, when his body was buried in the cemetery adjoining the Church of Ste. Marguerite. Two exhumations took place there in 1846 and in 1894, and produced a skeleton which was evidently that of the prisoner interred in June, 1795. On both occasions a medical examination was made to determine the original sex, height, and age, convincing the experts that they had to do with a subject of fourteen or fifteen years, whereas the real dauphin was only ten at the time of his decease. M. Deville, as a starting point of his book, concludes that the child buried at Ste. Marguerite was not Louis XVII.

Up to the end of January, 1794, "the son of Louis XVI had lived in a publicity excluding all possibility of error as to his identity. After January 31, although we have the material certainty of a child-prisoner in the Temple, we have no certainty as to who he was" (pp. 189-192).

The actual escape, according to M. Deville, was effected on March 2, 1794, (with the complicity of Hebert) by Joseph Bigot, a Vendean agent,

who penetrated the Temple four times in the character and with the powers of his all-but-namesake, *Bigaud,* one of the Temple commissioners. The same night (March 2) Ronsin raised the Hebertist revolt against the government, and eight days later the Count de Puisaye, Bigot's principal, issued a noble manifesto calling for a re-establishment of the monarchy "under a young prince schooled by misfortune." But the Paris revolt miscarried, and Hebert and his followers were guillotined on the charge of having "wished to give France a king" (Cf. St. Just's report). Meanwhile Louis XVII was secreted in a royalist manor, Le Morlant (Ile-et-Vilaine), where he either died young, or was conveyed abroad, to Canada or the United States.

At this point one should distinguish between the thesis of an escape, defended by such distinguished minds as Georges Lenôtre and his disciple, the author of this book—from a thesis of survival in the person of one of the forty-odd "false dauphins," which has, up to date, engaged no historian worthy of the name. There is, certainly, a third school of *non*-escape, and hence non-survival ably represented by Regis Chantelauze and François Laurentie. But, unfortunately perhaps for their thesis, Mr. Chantelauze neglected the scientific findings of 1846, and M. Laurentie ignores them.

M. Devile is, manifestly, an "escapist" with a slight tendency to "survivalism." Whatever one thinks of his theory, it is impossible not to admire the erudition, good faith, and judicious reasoning of his extraordinary book. This being said, it is a little disappointing to have to add that his strong historic sense seems to desert him somewhat when he passes from the reasonable plane of "escapism" to the very dubious one of survival. In the final chapter, for example, he evokes a representative of the present Brosseau family of Chicago, and the mysterious "Louis Leroy" of Greenwich Village in 1797, and suggests that one or the other *might have been* the lost dauphin. We had hoped that M. Deville had written a book to end all others on this maddening problem, but what if his appeal produce from our country of the Baconian theory two more countless and enraged bibliographies of pseudo-dauphins, Brosseauists and Leroyists, respectively? We must conclude, with the author of this fascinating piece of research, that, "for the moment, we shall resign ourselves to ignorance regarding the ultimate fate of Louis XVII."

CUTHBERT WRIGHT

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Secretary of Europe: The Life of Friedrich Gentz, Enemy of Napoleon. By GOLO MANN. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1946. Pp. xvi, 323. $4.00.)

Golo Mann, youngest son of Thomas Mann, took his doctor's degree at the University of Heidelberg in pre-Nazi days, emigrated to France after Hitler came to power, taught at the University of Rennes, and had just enlisted in the French army when the Germans overran the country. He managed to escape from the clutches of the Vichy government after spending some time in detention camps, and came to this country through Spain. He later went overseas with the American army. This book, translated by William H. Woglom, is clearly based on wide reading and research, and must be substantially the product of the relatively quiet days before 1940.

It is an admirable piece of work. Though without the customary apparatus of footnotes and bibliography, it is no *biographie romancée,* but a careful, scholarly life, well put together, well translated, and very readable. There is very little available in English on Gentz, who is nevertheless one of the most important figures in the Napoleonic world war and in the subsequent world settlement. This, of course, means that the life of Gentz is of particular interest to us today at the end of another world war.

Dr. Mann writes in full awareness of the pertinence of the career of Gentz for us. He attempts no exact and, therefore, necessarily crude and inept parallels between the days of Napoleon and the days of Hitler. He is too good an artist and too good a historian to indulge in any such truth-torturing fantasies. There is no nonsense about history repeating itself. But Dr. Mann does see that what makes the experience of the men of 1789-1830 so valid for us is that both Napoleon and Hitler were driven to attempt to break down by conquest the system of "sovereign" nation-states, that both failed to make their New Orders acceptable to those they had conquered, and that both finally fell before the nations united, though with great difficulty, against them. He makes his own position clear:

> In our narrative no comparison is ever explicitly drawn between the present time and the era of Napoleon. We might have played the innocent, and denied any intention of so doing; if it intrudes we might say that it was the fault of the original sources, or of the reader upon whom it forces itself, but we concede that it would be the fault, also, of the author, who chose these sources. We admit comparison, just as we admit the chasm between the times and the characters. In the final analysis, astonishment remains that so much similarity should be possible together with such radical differences.

Friedrich Gentz was the son of a Prussian government official. His mother was a daughter of Charles Ancillon, judge over the Huguenots of Brandenburg. Since the Huguenots commonly kept pretty well to them-

selves for several generations after they emigrated, it is probable that racially—for what that is worth—Gentz was as much French as German. After a youth spent in the atmosphere of the time, half Enlightenment and half *Sturm und Drang,* he became a journalist in Prussia, and seems like so many of his generation to have welcomed the French Revolution at first. But he was one of Burke's first readers on the continent, and one of his first converts. He made an excellent and very popular German translation of the *Reflections on the Revolution in France,* and from that moment was one of the chief intellectual opponents of the French Revolution and its successor, Napoleon. He was uncomfortable in the Prussia which had made peace with France in 1795 and was not to oppose French aggression until the debacle of Jena in 1806, and finally he took service with the Austrian government, where he spent the rest of his life as diplomat, censor, and, to use a perhaps unjustifiable modernism, "brain-truster" to Metternich. In the course of his long life he wrote a great deal, some of it mere pamphleteering, but most of it political writing which deserves a high place in the history of political thought. He has never won that place, for a number of reasons. For one thing, the Prussians never forgave him his migration to Vienna, and the victorious Prussians wrote the best-known histories of nineteenth-century Germany. For another, he has been linked with Metternich, and dismissed as an obstinate adherent of an unfruitful conservatism.

In the course of his book, Dr. Mann translates and comments upon many of the writings of Gentz, but he has no formal chapter on Gentz as a political philosopher. He is concerned rather with the narrative of Gentz's career, his life and times. Now Gentz was not an admirable person. He was unscrupulous in money matters, though unlike Talleyrand he spent it all as it came in. For most of his life he was in the pay of the British, and known to be. But he took money where he could get it, and one of his best sources was the Greek who served as Turkish viceroy in Bucharest, to whom he supplied a kind of confidential news-letter on European politics, beginnng in 1813. He was born a Lutheran, but like so many of his kind in the eighteenth century, had no real religious beliefs. He does not seem to have been capable of loving, though he had the due number of affairs with women. Especially after 1815, he often writes cynically. But like Talleyrand, whom he resembles in certain points, he had a deep feeling for peace, order, the hierarchial decencies, even, in a sense, for the freedom and dignity of men. The Jacobin Terror and the Napoleonic New Order seemed to him fundamentally wrong because they violated this freedom and decency. He was not, as he has sometimes been represented, a reactionary who believed that all that was necessary was a return to 1789. But, like his master Burke, he did not think revolutionary violence was a cure, but rather a much worse form of

political disease. In international affairs he believed in a balance of power, not because he thought this an ideal system, but because he believed that in his own day any attempt to transcend the system meant the establishment of the tyranny of one nation over the rest.

Dr. Mann makes no attempt to gloss over the weaknesses and failures of Gentz. He does not even say explicitly that Gentz was politically wise. But he has chosen his sources well, he has told his story clearly and temperately, and he lets his reader make up his own mind. Altogether, this is a book worth reading, and pondering over. It should make those who are too thoroughly immersed in the present realize that our problems are not altogether new, nor our plight altogether hopeless.

CRANE BRINTON

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The Danzig Dilemma: A Study in Peacemaking by Compromise. By JOHN BROWN MASON. (Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press. 1946. Pp. xviii, 377. $4.00.)

All students of contemporary international relations will welcome Professor Mason's analysis of the thorny Danzig issue. The copious footnotes and extensive bibliography attest the thoroughness of this analysis. The descriptive portions fairly bristle with informative data. Poland's rights in the Free City and the complications to which they gave rise constitute the author's major preoccupation, and he discusses them with admirable clarity and comprehensiveness. Of particular interest to both the jurist and the historian is the chapter which deals with the status of Danzig under international law. Professor Mason comes to the conclusion that the Free City "was a state at international law" and that "it was in principle vested with the sovereign rights of a state, although these had been restricted by treaty agreements in favor of Poland."

The Danzig settlement, as everyone knows, satisfied no one. The efforts of the allies to implement the settlement resulted in an intricate arrangement whose Achilles' heel was the endless conflict between Polish designs and the passionate determination of the Danzigers to preserve their Germanity. Professor Mason points out that, in spite of this conflict, the Free City acquitted itself rather well for more than a decade. Prior to Hitler's assumption of power in Germany, it fulfilled its international obligations and hewed to the line laid down in the provisions of its constitution. The situation underwent a drastic change after 1933, thanks to Nazi pressure, British weakness, and Polish acquiescence in violations of the Danzig constitution. So long as the League of Nations remained

strong, it was able to give the Free City adequate protection. When the prestige and authority of the Geneva organization declined, the state of affairs in Danzig deteriorated rapidly. Yet, until World War II convulsed Europe, an armed clash between the disputants was averted. "This," contends the author, "was due primarily to the fact that the office of the High Commissioner of the League of Nations provided a definite and permanent piece of international machinery having decisive authority concerning *all* disputes and differences submitted by *either* of the parties. This international organ for the prevention, mediation, and judicial settlement of disputes between the two governments was on the whole highly successful under trying and difficult conditions. . . ." Professor Mason is, therefore, not loath to argue that the Danzig settlement, despite its shortcomings, was superior to either of the two remaining alternatives: retention of the city by Germany or outright annexation to Poland.

The Danzig Dilemma is replete with suggestive implications. All those who believe that the international administration of disputed areas will promote the cause of peace with justice should ponder the defects of the Danzig settlement and do what they can to prevent a repetition of previous mistakes. All those who are averse to experiments of this type will profit by an open-minded perusal of Professor Mason's scholarly and dispassionate study.

S. WILLIAM HALPERIN

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The Ciano Diaries, 1939-1943. The Complete, Unabridged Diaries of Count Galeazzo Ciano, Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, 1936-1943. Edited by HUGH GIBSON; Introduction by SUMNER WELLES. (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., Inc. 1946. Pp. xxxi, 584. $4.00.)

These diaries record what Count Ciano saw, heard, and thought of importance concerning Italian foreign and domestic affairs from the beginning of the year 1939 until February 8, 1943, with a final entry, after a skip, for December 23, 1943. During most of this period he was in close contact with the important diplomats of Europe by virtue of his position as Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, which position he held until February 5, 1943. Dropped from Mussolini's cabinet at that time, he served for a short period as ambassador to the Holy See. Later in that year he was imprisoned by the Germans, and then executed in January, 1944. According to the editor's note, the diaries were smuggled into Switzerland by Ciano's wife, Edda, with whom an American newspaper representative arranged to reproduce them on microfilm. It was from this microfilm reproduction that the present translation was made.

In his final entry, for December 23, 1943, Count Ciano records that he "had always been opposed" to the alliance with Germany (p. 581). That statement seems inconsistent, however, with the entry for January 12, 1939, when he wrote that "This dark preoccupation of . . . [the British with respect to Germany] has convinced me more and more of the necessity for the Triple Alliance. Having in our hands such an instrument we could get whatever we want. The British do not want to fight" (p. 10). It would seem, then, that Count Ciano was in accord with Mussolini in January, 1939, in believing that the alliance with Germany would benefit Italy. The occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Germans in March, 1939, with only the slightest advance notice to Italy, changed Ciano's opinion, however, and he became convinced that the "Axis functions only in favor of one of its parts, which tends to have preponderant proportions, and it acts entirely on its own initiative, with little regard for us" (p. 42). The central theme of his story from this point forward is to record how he attempted to hold Mussolini back from full participation with Germany. The final decision to conclude the Pact of Steel he attributes solely to Mussolini's anger. Thus in May, 1939, when Ciano was in Milan with von Ribbentrop, some American newspapers had reported that the German minister was received there with hostility, and that this fact was proof of the diminished personal prestige of Mussolini. In his wrath, Mussolini telephoned "the most peremptory orders" to Ciano to accede to the German demands for an alliance (pp. 581-582).

Probably the most interesting part of what Count Ciano has written is what he has said about the personalities with whom he dealt. He reports that Mussolini was continually expressing dissatisfaction with the material with which he had to work, i.e., the Italian people, whom he considered a "race of sheep" (p. 202), who "for sixteen centuries have been an anvil and cannot become a hammer within a few years" (p. 267). " 'To make a people great' " Ciano reported Mussolini as saying, " 'it is necessary to send them to battle even if you have to kick them in the pants' " (p. 236). That a man with such contemptuous opinions of the Italian people possessed the almost complete power which Mussolini held in Italy is a very significant factor in explaining one of the most unfortunate periods in the history of that nation. Ciano has also recorded interesting impressions of some of the Nazi leaders, of Goering with tears in his eyes at seeing von Ribbentrop wearing a decoration (the collar of the Annunziata) which had not yet been bestowed upon him (p. 86); of Hitler's profound understanding of military matters (p. 119); and of that "revolting scoundrel," von Ribbentrop (p. 131).

It is interesting to note that the Japanese ambassador to Italy reported to Mussolini on December 3, 1941, according to Ciano, that negotiations with the United States had arrived at a "dead end," and that, invoking

the pertinent clause of the tripartite pact, he asked Italy to declare war on the United States as soon as the conflict should begin. Count Ciano observed that Roosevelt had now succeeded in "forcing" the Japanese to attack the United States (p. 414). But, upon this point, as upon so many similar ones in the diaries, the formation of a dependable historical interpretation will not be possible until Ciano's reports can be balanced against those of other participants.

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AMERICAN HISTORY

The Roots of American Loyalty. By MERLE CURTI. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1946. Pp. x, 267. $3.00.)

Nearly every book on American history touches indirectly on patriotism, but *The Roots of American Loyalty* is the first systematic study of the subject as "a pattern of emotions and ideas." Aware from his other studies of the great part played by national feeling in American culture, Professor Curti decided ten years ago to deal with the subject in a special work. Into the preparation of the book went many months of research including a year as visiting scholar at the Huntington Library. For his copious materials the author picked in the lanes and by-ways of American historiography. Though secondary works and the great classics of American nationalism were garnered in, the big yields were gleaned from the magazines and from those barely explored paths—the occasional sermon, the Fourth of July oration, and the academic address. Even the *Beloit College Monthly* is quoted!

Professor Curti attributes the growth of loyalty to cultural and social influences rather than to specifically political or constitutional factors. "The Constitution," as he says, "could hardly have been written, let alone adopted, if a variety of ideas and interests that may be called national had not already been forming. Nor could it have served in the further growth of national unity and loyalty if these ideas and interests had not continued to operate." These ideas and interests, Curti finds, were associated with the land and territorial expansion, with immigrants who continuously peopled the country and with opportunities for economic advancement. These associated forces, nurtured by education, oratory, and symbolism (the eagle, the flag, Thanksgiving Day, the Fourth of July, and Uncle Sam) and tested in war and crisis established American loyalty by the centennial year. Thereafter only the nature of loyalty was in question. During and after the Civil War intellectuals abandoned the old natural-right, social-compact theory of the American federal state for the organic theory of integral nationalism. In the new view the nation was

more than an instrumental agency for the common good; it was a real personality with a life of its own apart from and superior to that of the individuals who made up American society. Only in subordination and obedience to the grand and robust nation did individuals and groups find their true realization.

The loyalty inspired by organic nationalism softened the sectional and economic conflicts of an industrializing society, hastened the Americanization of immigrants and helped to justify imperialism, navalism, and military preparedness. Among statesman Theodore Roosevelt was the stoutest champion of integral nationalism in both its domestic and international aspects. He even tried in 1912 (not very successfully Curti thinks) to make the theory serve the cause of social justice. In the days of frantic hysteria evoked by World War I and its aftermath, Roosevelt's "one-hundred-percent Americanism" degenerated into isolationism, economic reaction, and racial and religious intolerance.

But there was, Professor Curti points out, an older and broader conception of patriotism which equated loyalty to country with loyalty to goodness and truth. Emerson, Whitman, Veblen, Bishop John Lancaster Spalding, and Woodrow Wilson were conspicuous representatives of this older, humanitarian, individualistic, and liberty-loving patriotism. To them and the millions for whom they spoke, love of country meant the defense of human rights, the advancement of social justice, and the promotion of peace and international co-operation. Patriotism, they insisted, found true expression not in instinct and blind emotion but in social intelligence. Although Professor Curti does not in so many words say so, American patriotism, as viewed by these men, is but another name for American liberalism. Curti believes that to date patriotism as liberalism has triumphed over patriotism as organic nationalism and in conclusion suggests that the people's future welfare in both domestic and foreign affairs depends on the continued dominance of the more liberal view.

From beginning to end the author attends to the religious aspects of loyalty, particularly the Protestant attempt to monopolize patriotism and the Catholic determination to share fully in that virtue. Professor Curti might well have utilized the essays and speeches of John Ireland (whom he mentions), because the Archbishop of St. Paul more than any other Catholic leader crusaded for the development and the reaffirmation of Catholic patriotism. *The Roots of American Loyalty* implies that Catholics, excepting only the Knights of Columbus, adhered to the liberal type of patriotism. Though this is a flattering estimate, it must be considered a tentative one until some scholar writes the history of Catholic liberalism in the United States.

AARON I. ABELL

University of Notre Dame

The Growth of Constitutional Power in the United States. By CARL BRENT SWISHER. Charles R. Walgreen Foundation Lectures. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1946. Pp. x, 261. $2.50.)

Recent happenings in the political life of the United States have occasioned a considerable re-examination of the foundations of our constitutional system. Its structure has been made the subject of exhaustive investigation, and by no one more indefatigably than by Professor Swisher. Since the publication of his study of political techniques in the state of California, he has published frequent constitutional studies, of which the biographies of Dield and Taney are, in the reviewer's opinion, the most representative. The volume under consideration is, nevertheless, a distinct contribution to certain phases of constitutional theory.

The chief defect of the book is one which was hardly avoidable; this is the published appearance of a group of ten lectures, and, as such, it displays some unevenness, and some hesitance of attack in the earlier lectures. When Swisher considers "The Pendulum of Checks and Balances," however, he improves noticeably, and from this point to the end of the book, the pace is well maintained. Perhaps the most interesting section of the study is that devoted to an exploration of the contrast between constitutional sources of power and constitutional barriers thereto. Professor Swisher's material here is not new; it has, in fact, been thoroughly worked by many commentators on the Constitution. The contrast is one, however, which has seldom been made so clearly and succinctly, and for this achievement alone the book deserves commendation. The discussion of the growth of administrative justice is likewise of value, even though it is difficult to accept some of the conclusions presented.

These conclusions are foreshadowed in the introductory lecture, wherein Professor Swisher declares that: "moral arguments give sanctity to law in general and to interpretations of the Constitution as long as, but only as long as, the moral arguments can be kept in harmony with the current moral conceptions of the community." This remark can be accepted with difficulty, not only because of its failure to measure up to a sound definition of law—which is promulgated for the common *good,* not in accordance with the common *opinion,* but also because the present Supreme Court has certainly shown its willingness to flout the force of public opinion in the re-hearing of *Williams v. North Carolina.* When Swisher uses the expressions quoted above, and when he allows them to influence whole portions of his argument, he leans very far in the direction of sociological jurisprudence, whether he intends this or not.

It seems to the reviewer that a healthier attitude, and one potentially productive of better results, would be that of viewing legal and constitutional questions as possible aids in delimiting and delineating that presently incomprehensible entity, the law. If theorists were to consider their own

findings and the decisions of the courts in this light, instead of in the light of opinion-made law, it would probably be much simpler to arrive at an acceptance of a definition of law which could be applied in any given case. It would be pleasant to dismiss this attitude of Swisher's as a minor flaw, but it seems to be much more than that. The volume as a whole, nevertheless, is a good, serviceable, scholarly presentation of constitutional theory, marred by such peculiar grammatical usages as "reference back," "root back" for "to be rooted in," "deviate away from," "area of affectation," for "area affected," and by typographical errors which render "no satisfactory" as "so satisfactory" (p. 168), and make Holmes speak of a "constitutent" act. In compensation, there is a prophetic discussion of the differences between Black and Jackson (p. 43), and a felicitous clause concerning Russian tyranny (p. 47).

SISTER MARIE CAROLYN KLINKHAMER
The Catholic University of America

The Farmer's Last Frontier, Agriculture, 1860-1897. [Volume V, Economic History of the United States.] By FRED A. SHANNON. (New York and Toronto: Farrar & Rinehart Inc. 1946. Pp. xii, 434. $3.75.)

When a reader says that he wishes a book had been longer, the author may well be pleased. This reviewer wishes Mr. Shannon's book had been longer, not only because it treats of interesting matter in an interesting way, but because the space allotted to the present work is really inadequate for such a task as the writer undertakes.

The book is supposed to be the fifth of a projected series of nine volumes dealing with the economic history of the United States. The entire group is to be published under the editorial direction of Henry David, Harold U. Faulkner, Louis M. Hacker, Curtis P. Nettels, and the writer of the present volume. *The Farmer's Last Frontier, Agriculture, 1860-1897* is the first of the series to come from the press.

The preface explains the title and scope of the book in the following words: "Before 1860 farming, for the most part, had passed beyond the subsistence phase and had become commercial. In the next forty years agriculture reached out to its last frontier within the ultimate forty-eight states" (p. viii). Hence, the theme is not localized to the Great Plains or the period round the close of the nineteenth century which is the usual interpretation of "last frontier." Rather, it treats of the entire country and all activities of the farmer "as he affected and was influenced by the world in which he worked and lived" from 1860 to 1897 (p. viii). This is a big assignment to be crowded into 369 pages, but Mr. Shannon does a remarkable job of fulfilling it. One cannot help admiring the extent

of information on all phases of American rural life, with its joys and sorrows, its ups and downs, its fortunes and failures, which are found here. Merely to keep order in such an amazing variety of subjects is a major task; but the author maintains a logical development and proper balance that bespeaks a masterful grasp of the field. Here and there, a little repetition creeps in. It is generally excusable for the sake of clarity; but in chapter thirteen, which details the various causes of agrarian uprising, such repetition seems overdone.

The main criticisms the book will probably receive arise from an attempt to put so much in so few pages. Many of the subjects that are dwelt upon have another side from that taken by the writer. Presumably for lack of room, he rarely indicates this in the text. Perhaps, some of the material cited in frequent footnotes discusses these questions more fully; but since the name of the author, the title of the book, and the number of pages are usually the sum total of what appears in such references, one is often left wondering just why five or six books or articles are noted, and whether or not they all say the same thing.

The thirty-five pages devoted to "The Literature of the Subject," although briefly annotated, do not help much in clearing up the views held by sources referred to in the notes, because this bibliographical material is neither arranged in alphabetical order nor strictly in the order of the chapters. Hence, a reader must have unwonted perseverance to trace down any further information which might be in this section (pp. 379-414). While dealing with the question of citations, it may be said that the reviewer found baffling the use of the reference numbers as employed in the text. Frequently they are attached to a word in the middle of a sentence, e.g., pp. 6, note 5; 8, note 10; 14, note 23; and, again, at the end of a rather long controversial discussion, where some authentic sources would be appreciated, no citation is given, e.g., pp. 178 and 347.

On the whole the book is, as the editors' foreword promises, a compilation from findings of "specialized studies" and "mountains of government reports" presented in a "readable survey." It tells a story which emphasizes the hard side of the farmer's life. Mr. Shannon attributes the poor condition of agriculturists in this era to a lack of co-operation among themselves more than to any other cause. The book begins and ends on this note (pp. 3-4, 350). While he does not go out of his way to introduce new theories about the rural life in the United States, the author rather successfully upsets two standard traditions. Chapter I, which is very enlightening on the soil groups of the country, establishes the fact that it was not always the man who settled on the black earth of the river bottom who got the best farm (pp. 5-25); and the old supposition that the frontier as long as it existed was a "safety valve" for poverty-stricken city artisans is reversed by statistics to show that the town was rather the "safety-valve" for

the disgruntled farmer (pp. 356-359). On the whole Shannon takes the side of the farmer; and he leaves the impression, based on considerable evidence, that until 1900 the farmer's position was not a very happy one.

In such a comprehensive treatise it is difficult to construct a practical index. The one here covers fifteen pages, double column, of fine print; but one is a little puzzled at first not to find many common agricultural terms occupying a place of their own in the long list. Further study often reveals these items as sub-topics under some other word. An example is the supplementary data found under the names of the states of the Union. Thirty-three graphs are very helpful to an appreciation of the more involved statistical portions of the work. The pictures are not so helpful. However, general readers and students alike, will be interested by this up-to-date review of the farmer's part in the development of our country.

RAPHAEL N. HAMILTON

Marquette University

LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY

Brazilian Literature. An Outline. By ÉRICO VERÍSSIMO. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1945. Pp. ix, 184. $2.00.)

A few years ago, while a visiting professor with the Department of Spanish and Portuguese at the University of California, Érico Veríssimo, one of the younger and better-known novelists of Brazil, gave a series of popular lectures in Berkeley on the literature of his country. Out of these lectures has come the little volume under review, a book of twelve short chapters, half of them on the literature of the past twenty years, designed to serve as an outline of the subject.

In a foreword the author is frank enough to admit that his book is "a very sketchy history of Brazilian literature, and undoubtedly a very defective one." His purpose, he says, was "to give the American reader an idea of the march of literature in my country, from the day it was discovered to the present year." He endeavored to achieve this end for the benefit of the layman. "These pages," he observes, "were originally written to be read as a series of public lectures I delivered in January and February, 1944, at the University of California, Berkeley, and as I did not wish the audience to fall asleep, . . . once in a while I told them a story or anecdote out of some novel, short story, or poem of Brazilian literature." His choice of illustrative material was dictated in most instances by his own taste. ". . . many of the passages I quote in this book were not chosen because they are the most representative of their authors or times, but only because they make good yarns or pleasant reading." He asks the reader to bear in mind that he is not a critic but a storyteller.

He warns the reader, moreover, that his book does not present "an unbiased view of Brazilian literature." He "contented himself" not with "the position of God" but with that of "a simple reader who sometimes may be wrong, but who is never willing to betray his own tastes and distastes."

Few authors are as candid as Sr. Veríssimo, or better able to review their own works as truthfully as Sr. Veríssimo has reviewed his. But his disarming frankness cannot justify the appearance of such a clumsy little volume, or keep the critic from lamenting the intellectual inadequacy of the author. Everything about the book is unfortunate: its tone (which borders at times on the flippant), its historical *mise-en-scène,* its bewildering subjectivity, and its compression. As lectures this survey of Brazilian literature may have amused the audience, for Sr. Veríssimo is a fine *raconteur,* but as a printed record, which must now stand on its own merits, without the benefit of the physical presence of the author to sustain its interest, it falls short of what even the layman might have expected. The truth of the matter seems to be that Sr. Veríssimo is not prepared at the present time to give us the needed survey of Brazilian literature in the manner of the late Isaac Goldberg, whose *Studies in Brazilian Liturature* (New York, 1927), within its limited scope, remains the best thing in English. When a serious work is written on the subject, we hope that the respected house of Macmillan will consider it for publication. In such a fashion it may recover part of the prestige it has lost with the appearance of Sr. Veríssimo's strained, hastily-written, and badly-thought-out volume.

MANOEL S. CARDOZO

The Catholic University of America

Brazil: People and Institutions. By T. LYNN SMITH. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1946. Pp. xii, 843. $6.50.)

This fat volume, the first study of its kind and one of the most exhaustive to have appeared in English during the past fifty years, concerns itself for the most part with rural sociology, a field in which the author, who is head of the Departments of Sociology and Rural Sociology and director of the Institute of Population Research, Louisiana State University, is particularly competent. The reader must not expect to find a rounded picture of Brazil, as the title suggests. By "people" Professor Smith has the rural population especially in mind; what he has to say about the cities, which are, as he knows, the pulsating centers of Brazilian life today, amounts to very little. Professor Smith probably assumed that the reader is already familiar with the glittering picture of Brazil as drawn by tourist agencies and casual travelers, and he may have felt

free, therefore, to devote most of his attention to the blighted areas of the country. As the result, the reader will be able to get a clear idea of the tremendous rural problem, which involves the lives of about thirty million people, that still remains to be solved.

The author has made use of available statistics and personal observations to analyze the existing social and economic pattern of the Brazilian countryside and in some instances, of the nation as a whole. He has done this with the cold objectivity of the modern sociologist. Within the limitations of his method, there is here a wealth of information on such topics as agriculture, land titles, the relation of the people to the land, immigration, cultural diversity, civil and religious institutions, mortality, marriage, standards of living, etc. It is true that the style of the narrative is not always pleasant, and the material is not always well digested; yet the reader will get a factual survey of some of the basic realities of Brazil.

Some strictures might be made at the author's handling of historical data. There are many slips in the text to show that he is not at home in the field of Brazilian history. The sections on institutions are weak. Chapter XXI, "Religious Institutions," is especially in need of revision. Actually the author seems to have no feeling for or knowledge of the Catholic Church; and the blunders he commits in this regard are both legion and unpardonable. He has relied too heavily on Gilberto Freyre, who had an unfortunate distaste for the Jesuits, and on Kidder, whose lack of historical perspective is notorious.

The book falls short of being a really significant work. Perhaps the fault lies not so much in the author as in the method he chose. It is probably too much to expect a vital piece of research from a positivistic sociological approach. Be that as it may, the book is still to be recommended; despite the faults pointed out above, it is an important addition to the available basic studies on Brazil.

MANOEL S. CARDOZO

The Catholic University of America

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The members of the Association and the readers of the REVIEW generally will be interested in the following letter received by the Apostolic Delegate from the Secretariate of State of the Holy See in relation to the volume edited by Leo F. Stock, *Consular Relations between the United States and the Papal States.*

SEGRETERIA DI STATO
DI SUA SANTITA
No. 140377.

Vatican City
September 6, 1946.

Your Excellency:

I take this occasion gratefully to acknowledge receipt of your esteemed letter of November 14th, 1945, No. 3139/45, and of the two volumes entitled, "Consular Relations between the United States and the Papal States," and to assure you that these two important books have been presented to His Holiness.

It is now my honored duty to convey, through the kind offices of Your Excellency, to Dr. Stock and to the American Catholic Historical Association, an expression of the august sentiments of gratitude and interest with which the Holy Father has received these two notable and significant historical studies. The Supreme Pontiff would have me assure Dr. Stock, and all who assisted him in his laudable research and study, of his profound paternal interest in the scientific labors especially of those historians who have chosen as the object of their labor the admirable and wonderful history of the Church in all the manifold variety of fields traversed by her in the pursuance of her unique and divine mission. Please assure Dr. Stock and his colleagues in the American Catholic Historical Association of the abiding interest of the Holy Father in their continued success and scientific advancement. In token of his especial solicitude and affection, the Supreme Pontiff imparts to Dr. Stock and his associates the Apostolic Benediction.

Gladly availing myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my sentiments of high esteem and of most cordial regard, I remain

Devotedly yours in Christ,

J. B. MONTINI
Subst.

His Excellency
The Most Rev. A. G. Cicognani, D.D.
Apostolic Delegate
Washington, D. C.

There is nothing more gratifying to the research worker in history than the uncovering of a large collection of hitherto unused manuscript sources. Such was the experience of the managing editor of the REVIEW during the past summer when he spent a week in the archives of the Diocese of Richmond with the permission and generous hospitality of Bishop Ireton. All students of American church history were aware, of course, of the potential riches of those archives, due to the distinguished bishops who had occupied the see. Few dioceses in the country can boast three men of such national prominence in the Church of the United States as James Gibbons, John J. Keane, and Denis J. O'Connell. While the Richmond papers of Gibbons and Keane are of importance, they are, in the main, confined to matters of a diocesan character. But the student of the late-nineteenth-century American Church will find the correspondence of O'Connell during the period of his rectorship of the American College in Rome of special significance. These letters, dating from the middle of the 1880's, but becoming especially full for the period from 1888 to 1903, are simply invaluable for an understanding of such prominent questions as the school controversy, Cahenslyism, Americanism, and the attitude of the Church towards the Spanish-American War. Monsignor O'Connell occupied a key post from 1885 to 1895 as the Roman rector, and through his hands passed practically all the business transactions of leading members of the American hierarchy with the Holy See. After his retirement from that office in 1895 he continued to live on in Rome until 1903, when he was named third rector of the Catholic University of America. Fortunately, this correspondence is, for the most part, intact. It is presently being chronologically arranged and made ready for indexing and calendaring by the vice-chancellor of the diocese, the Reverend Justin D. McClunn. It is safe to say that for the period of the eventful last twenty years of the nineteenth century there is no more important body of documents in the American Church—with the possible exceptions of those in Baltimore and New York—than the O'Connell Papers in the archives of the Diocese of Richmond. Qualified research workers are permitted access to these papers, and applications for their use should be addressed to the Most Reverend Peter L. Ireton, 800 Cathedral Place, Richmond 20, Virginia.

The Society of American Archivists and the American Association for State and Local History held a highly successful joint annual meeting in Washington on October 24-26. The sessions were conducted in the auditorium of the National Archives and were well attended. The dinner meetings were held at the American University and the Catholic University of America. Dr. Solon J. Buck, Archivist of the United States, was re-elected president of the Society of American Archivists, and S. K. Stevens, Pennsylvania State Historian, succeeded Dorothy C. Barck as president of the American Association for State and Local History.

Church historians will be interested in the article, "New Dunwoodie Library and Archives," by R. L. Burns in the September, 1946, issue of the *Homiletic and Pastoral Review*. The description given by Mr. Burns, project manager of Eggers and Higgins, Architects, who have the contract for the design of the new building, will acquaint the reader with the most ambitious archival plans of any Catholic group in the United States. The rich archival collections of the Archdiocese of New York will not only be properly and scientifically housed, but provision will be made to create a research center for American Catholic scholars. The new wing to St. Joseph's Seminary will contain as well a library and a museum.

Catholic colleges have received as students their share of the former service men who are now assisted by government subsidies. But to have students requiring financial aid is, perhaps, the oldest tradition of American Catholic higher education. The neglect of this and other very realistic aspects of the story of Catholic higher education in the United States has rendered that story quite enigmatic. Heretofore, most criticisms of Catholic colleges have placed unnecessary emphasis on the high ideals and the unsatisfactory results. There has been an unwillingness to consider the real subject of the process, the youth, who frequently had little or no family background for higher education and even less financial means. The history of these real factors in the development of Catholic higher education in the United States is long overdue.

To promote interest in the study of history, the Department of History of the University of Notre Dame has instituted a series of monthly public discussions on historical topics in which faculty and students participate. The theme for this year's discussions is the notion of the state in the various periods of history. The first discussion, on October 22, was centered on the notion of the state in ancient times. Dr. Waldemar Gurian opened the discussion with an analysis of the theories of Plato and Aristotle regarding the nature of the state, and Dr. Anton-Herman Chroust followed with an exposition of the political theory of the Epicureans.

The 1946 edition of *A Missionary Index of Catholic Americans,* compiled and published by the Catholic Students' Mission Crusade, Crusade Castle, Cincinnati 26, Ohio, shows that there is now a total of 3,093 Americans engaged in Catholic foreign mission work. This is an increase of 729 over the 2,264 reported for 1944. Critical shortages of personnel still exist in China, the Philippines, and Japan, while Latin America has shown a substantial increase over 1944. The *Index,* a paper-bound volume of 130 pages, sells for $.50.

Volume XXII of the Monograph Series of the United States Catholic Historical Society of New York was published in November. It is an

able and well-documented study by Fergus Macdonald, C.P., of St. Gabriel's Monastery, Brighton, Massachusetts, entitled: *The Catholic Church and the Secret Societies in the United States.* The volume runs to 220 pages and covers the story from 1794, when first the question of the Church's relation to these secret groups arose under Bishop Carroll, to 1895, when the decision of the Holy Office was rendered against three of the Societies, the Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, and Sons of Temperance. Father Macdonald has canvassed the archival depositories of Baltimore, New York, Cincinnati, and Notre Dame with care and diligence and the extensive use of these manuscript sources—hitherto untouched—greatly enhances the value of the volume. The editors of the REVIEW regret that a long-standing rule not to review published dissertations done in partial fulfillment of the requirements for advanced degrees in the Catholic University of America prevents them from giving this volume more extensive notice, since it was originally presented as a dissertation for the master of arts degree in the University in June, 1946.

Stanford University Press announced on October 8 the publication of a new magazine to be called the *Pacific Spectator, A Journal of Interpretation.* It will be inaugurated with the issue of January, 1947, with John Dodds, dean of the School of Humanities at Stanford, as chairman of the editorial board and Miss Edith Mirrielees as managing editor. The prospectus states that the *Pacific Spectator* "will observe and comment on history past and in the making, life and literature, social and scientific change. While it is in no sense a regional publication, the accent will be on the Pacific and Western America."

The 1944-45 *Report* of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association contains the customary reports of the officers and the text of the papers read at the twelfth annual meeting held in Toronto on September 25-26, 1945. Among these papers was one of the last productions of the Association's secretary, "The Tercentenary of the Four Masters of Ireland," by James F. Kenney, who died on June 21 last. Altogether there are ten brief essays read in the English section and eight in the French section.

On October 10 the new home of the Academy of American Franciscan History was dedicated under the title of the Friary of Our Lady of Guadalupe. The friary is located at 29 Cedar Lane, Bethesda, Maryland. The solemn Mass was celebrated by the Most Reverend Valentine Schaaf, O.F.M., Minister General of the Order of Friars Minor. The dinner guests in the evening heard an address by Dom Joao Carlos Muniz, Brazilian ambassador to the Pan American Union. An academic program following consisted of three papers read by Professor Philip W. Powell of Northwestern University, Don Eduardo Marquina of the Royal Spanish Academy of Language in Madrid, and Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M., a

member of the Academy of American Franciscan History. The editors of the REVIEW take this opportunity to extend their best wishes to the personnel of the Academy for a long and happy tenure in their new home.

Paul V. Murray on July 1, 1946 assumed the offices of vice-president and dean of Mexico City College, San Luis Potosi 154, Mexico, D. F. The college was founded in June, 1940, as an outgrowth of the American School Foundation, and is the first American-type college to be organized in Mexico.

Dr. Laszlo Radvanyi, professor of economics in the University of Mexico, is the editor of a new quarterly journal, *The Social Sciences in Mexico and News about the Social Sciences in South and Central America,* which appears in English in Mexico City (Donato Guerra 1, Despacho 207).

The Agência Geral das Colónias of Lisbon has recently issued two works of interest to students of Portuguese church history: (1) *A expansão da fé no extremo oriente (subsídios para a história colonial),* by Father António Lourenço Farinha, Vol. III (Lisboa, 1946); and (2) *D. Gonçalo da Silveira,* by Bertha Leite (Lisboa, 1946). D. Gonçalo was a Jesuit martyr of sixteenth-century Moçambique (Portuguese East Africa).

The fifth edition, in two volumes, has appeared of Gilberto Freyre's *Casa-Grande & Senzala* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1946). An English translation of this work by Samuel Putnam, under the title of *The Masters and the Slaves, A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization,* was recently issued by Alfred A. Knopf.

The director of the Colombian Academy of History of Bogotá, Dr. Ortega Ricaurte, has recently arrived in the United States.

In a timely article appearing in the December 7 issue of *America* John Courtney Murray, S.J., endeavors to settle popular confusion over so-called separation of Church and State.

The August number of the *Journal of Politics* (Volume XIII, Number 3) contains a symposium of articles on the post-war governments of Europe.

The October issue of the *Journal of the History of Medicine* is devoted to articles on the history of anaesthesia.

Volume 17, Number 2 of *Analecta sacra Tarraconensia* contains the "Bibliografía hispanica de ciencias historico-eclesiásticas" for 1943.

The Spanish edition of Altaner's *Patrologia* by Eusebio Cuevas, O.S.A., and Ursino Domínguez, O.S.A., with a sixty-five page appendix of

"Patrología española" (Espasa-Calpe, Madrid, 1945) is well reviewed by José Madoz in the July, 1945 issue of the *Revista española de theología*. In addition to his general criticism, Father Madoz makes a number of additions and corrections concerning the ecclesiastical writers of Spain. The *Revista* (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, Madrid), now completing its sixth year of publication has established its place among the important theological reviews of the world.

Scholars may be puzzled by a new title attached to a French periodical during the war: *Vivre et penser*. The regimentation imposed by the Nazis during the occupation of France prevented the *Revue biblique* from appearing in its usual form. However, publications that did not appear regularly were given official sanction, provided they submitted to censorship. The title *Vivre et penser* was substituted for that of the *Revue* precisely because it meant nothing. A discreet reminder of its purpose appeared in the sub-title, *Recherches d'exégèse et d'histoire*. The indication "1re série" attached to the first number in June, 1941, hinted at an eventual continuation. The second series appeared at the end of July, 1942. The third, intended for 1943, appeared only in June, 1945. In January, 1946, this camouflage was discarded and the old title was resumed as tome 53. The three series of *Vivre et penser* are counted as tomes 50, 51, 52 of the *Revue biblique*.

Two stout volumes of *Miscellanea historica in honorem Alberti De Meyer* have been published by subscription in the Recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie of the University of Louvain (Louvain, 1946) to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of Canon De Meyer's professorship at Louvain. A hundred articles, mostly in Flemish and French, with a few in English and German, compose the tribute. Canon J. Coppens presents an essay in French on De Meyer as a scholar, along with a character sketch in Flemish. America is represented in the volumes by several articles from scholars who made their historical studies at Louvain: Monsignor P. Guilday, "Les conciles de Baltimore (1791-1884)"; M. Piette, O.F.M., "Fray Junipero Serra (1713-1784): ses écrits et son Journal"; J. B. Code, "The Contribution of Europe to Holiness in America"; E. A. Ryan, S.J., "Bellarmine and American Political Theory." The very number of the articles prevents our listing them. Many are of broad interest. Scholars will need to have frequent recourse to this rich melange. It is a fitting homage to De Meyer, professor, author, and editor.

On November 11, at the Catholic University of America, the Franciscans of the United States held commemorative ceremonies in honor of St. Anthony of Padua on the occasion of his elevation to the dignity of doctor of the Church. A sermon on the Saint was delivered by the Most Reverend Richard J. Cushing at a solemn pontifical Mass in the Shrine

of the Immaculate Conception. In the evening at an academic session Ignatius Smith, O.P., Thomas Plassmann, O.F.M., and Gerald G. Walsh, S.J., presented papers on St. Anthony.

A group of scholars is preparing to study the *Fortleben* of ancient authors and the history of classical scholarship during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. They will work on mediaeval and Renaissance Latin translations of Greek authors that wrote before 600 A.D., and on commentaries on ancient Greek and Latin authors. Scholars interested in doing such work are invited to correspond with Paul Oskar Kristeller, Department of Philosophy, Columbia University, to secure details of the project. It is being conducted under the auspices of the Committee on Renaissance Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies, of the American Philological Association, and of the Mediaeval Academy of America. A large editorial board has been named.

The chairman of the American Council of Learned Societies announces that Dr. Waldo G. Leland, director of the council became director emeritus as of October 1, 1946, and that Professor Richard H. Shyrock of the University of Pennsylvania was appointed acting director of the council to serve until the annual meeting on January 31, 1947. Dr. Leland will render advisory services to the council in the field of international intellectual relations, and will engage in the preparation of a history of international intellectual relations since about 1850.

Wellesley College has established a field of concentration in mediaeval studies for honor students. It will cut across several departments, especially history, Latin, and philosophy. There will be an integrating seminar.

The bewildered student who faces the problem of preparing a term paper in history that will employ correct usage in regard to footnote references, bibliography, and quotations from works of reference will find a very neat and helpful guide in the brochure of William L. Lucey, S.J., on *Writing a Term Paper*. Father Lucey is professor of American history at the College of the Holy Cross in Worcester, Massachusetts, and copies of his pamphlet can be secured by writing to the college bookstore where it is sold for $.25 per copy.

Canon Jean Rivière, professor in the Faculty of Catholic Theology at the University of Strasbourg, died on May 3 at the age of sixty-eight. He was distinguished as an historian and theologian, and his bibliography is long. Of outstanding importance among his works are his *Le problème de l'église et de l'état au temps de Philippe le Bel* (Louvain, 1926) and his writings on the history of the dogma of the Redemption. His study on this dogma reaches back to his doctoral dissertation in 1905. He brought it to a conclusion with an article: "Le dogme de la Rédemption au XII^e^ siècle d'après les dernières publications," in numbers 1 and 2, Tome II

of the *Revue du moyen âge latin*. The article, which is somewhat in the nature of *retractationes*, was lost after it was got ready for print and had to be completely rewritten by the ailing author. Thus we have almost literally his last word on this subject to which he had given a lifetime of attention.

Henry Joseph Bruehl, assistant professor of history in the Catholic University of America since 1936, died on October 17 at the age of sixty-seven. Dr. Bruehl, a native of the Rhineland, studied at Antwerp, Salzburg, Munich, Edinburgh, and Muenster. He lectured in political science and economics, and in 1930 became head of a Gymnasium in Germany. Because of opposition to the Nazi government he left Germany for the United States in 1934. After two years spent at Rosemont College he came to the Catholic University of America to teach modern European history. He was the author of numerous articles on history and allied subjects. He constantly raised his voice against the Nazi regime.

Michael J. Kenny, S.J., of Spring Hill College died in New Orleans on November 22 at the age of eighty-four. Father Kenny taught in various schools of the Society of Jesus in the South, and from 1908 to 1915 he served as associate editor of *America*. Born in Ireland, he came to the United States sixty years ago. During the days of the Calles persecution of the Church in Mexico he was active in writing and lecturing in behalf of the stricken Catholics of that land. He is principally remembered among historians for his volumes, *The Romance of the Floridas* (Milwaukee, 1934) and *Catholic Culture in Alabama: Centenary Story of Spring Hill College, 1830-1930* (New York, 1931), centennial history of Spring Hill College. Father Kenny was for years very active in the American Catholic Historical Association, serving on several of its committees and reading papers on more than one occasion at its annual meetings.

Samuel H. Cross, professor of Slavic languages and literatures in Harvard University, died on October 14 at the age of fifty-five. His passing is a great loss to scholarship. Among his many activities he was the editor of *Speculum*, the *American Slavonic Review*, and *Byzantion*.

The accidental death of Leo S. Rowe, director-general of the Pan American Union, was a great shock to his many friends. Dr. Rowe held an honorary degree from the Catholic University of America.

The Right Reverend Victor Day, former vicar general of the Diocese of Helena, died recently. He was familiar to students of history as the translator of three works of Godefroid Kurth.

Under the title, "Oregon Catholics Observe Anniversary," in the July 21 issue of the *Sunday Oregonian*, John Pincetich sketches the first 100 years of the Archdiocese of Portland. The *Catholic Sentinel* of Portland

issued a special centenary edition on July 25 featuring the history of the Church in the Oregon Country.

In a gala three-day celebration, September 2-4, St. Vincent's Archabbey at Latrobe, Pennsylvania, celebrated the centennial of the mother abbey of the Benedictines of the United States. In the presence of the Apostolic Delegate, the Governor of Pennsylvania, the Bishops of Pittsburgh, Erie, and Columbus, and virtually all the abbots of the daughter abbeys of St. Vincent's, the coming of Abbot Boniface Wimmer 100 years ago to western Pennsylvania was splendidly commemorated. The *Saint Vincent Journal* for September, 1946, is devoted to a description of the events of the centennial, and before long, we have been given to understand, scholars will have a chance to welcome a biography of Abbot Wimmer by Felix Fellner, O.S.B., professor of history at St. Vincent's.

April, 1947, will mark the centenary of the Diocese of Cleveland. While the list of the bishops of Cleveland contains the names of some of our most zealous prelates, the first prelate, Bishop Amadeus Rappe is remembered especially for his apostolic zeal. Not only did he form the first diocesan organization and institute the first diocesan seminary, but through him most of the older religious institutes were introduced into the diocese.

The School Sisters of Notre Dame are observing the centenary of their coming to America this year.

On October 23, Samuel Cardinal Stritch joined the faculty of St. Mary of the Lake Seminary, at Mundelein, Illinois, in the celebration of the silver jubilee of the foundation of the seminary. The seminary buildings and its expansive grounds remain a great testimonial to the large planning of the late Cardinal Mundelein. The story of the first twenty-five years of the seminary also includes, among lesser events, the spectacle of the procession at the International Eucharistic Congress in 1926. An account of the seminary, as well as of its predecessors, is being prepared by the seminary librarian, Father Harry C. Koenig.

Documents: Viaje a Oriente [Account of Fray Diego de Mérida]. Antonio Rodríguez Moñino *(Analecta sacra Tarraconensia,* Vol. XVIII, Fasc. I).—Correspondencia epistolar entre don Rogue de Olzinellas y el P. José de la Canal. José Rius Serra *(ibid.).*—An Unpublished Diary of Fray Crespi, O.F.M. (1170). Edited by Charles J. G. Maximin Piette *(Americas,* Oct.).

BRIEF NOTICES

ANDREWS, EVANGELINE WALKER AND CHARLES MCLEAN ANDREWS (Eds.). *Jonathan Dickinson's Journal or, God's Protecting Providence.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1945. Pp. x, 252. $3.00.)

This edition of *God's Protecting Providence,* or Jonathan Dickinson's *Journal,* has a special interest to the student as being the last work of the great colonial historian, Charles McLean Andrews. Written in collaboration with his wife, Evangeline Walker Andrews, it is of value simply as making available to readers the famous Quaker tract, last reissued in 1868. The appendices to the *Journal* contain biographical material on the participants in the shipwreck, a careful analysis of previous editions of the work and the reasons for their publications, and some observations on colonial maritime trade and English trade interests.

The *Journal* itself covers the story of the shipwreck of the barkentine *Reformation* off the coast of Florida in 1696 as it was making the dangerous voyage from Jamaica to Philadelphia. Aboard the ship were Jonathan Dickinson himself, owner and merchant, his wife and small baby, Robert Barrow, a well-known Quaker, one other passenger, members of the crew, and several Negroes belonging to Dickinson. The ship was driven ashore in a storm near what is now Jupiter Inlet, and hostile Indians immediately seized the crew and passengers. For four months they faced cold, hunger, uncertainty as to whether they would be permitted to live, until finally they were conducted to the Spaniards at St. Augustine, whence they were eventually able to make their way northward to Charleston and to Philadelphia. The charm of the narrative lies in the simplicity of style of Dickinson himself and in the trust of the journalist and his family that God's protecting providence would take care of them in every extremity. The true piety of the early Quakers, their forebearance and their fortitude, are nowhere brought out more clearly than in this account. It is an excellent source, also, for knowledge of the Indians who inhabited this section of the Florida coast, cowardly, greedy, hating the English or "Nickaleers" as they did, fearful of the power of Spain; and a source of information, too, for the Spanish garrison at St. Augustine, where, in spite of the religious intolerance of the age, the governor did everything he could for the heretical refugees.

Professor and Mrs. Andrews have covered the history of the various editions of this volume, from its initial publication in 1699 to the edition of 1868, as well as the English Quaker publishers and printers of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. One wonders a little why they should have felt it necessary to go to this length in a study of these printers as part of the editing of this particular tract. Such a study needs to be done in great detail; the antiquarian and genealogical material contained here simply raises in the mind of the reader a host of questions on the history of seventeenth-century Quakerism. Perhaps, in his last work Professor Andrews was pointing the way for further scholarship in this field, both for America and for England. (CATHERINE FENNELLY)

BEALS, RALPH L. *Cherán. A Sierra Tarascan Village.* [Smithsonian Institution: Institute of Social Anthropology, Publ. no. 2.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1946. Pp. x, 225. 8 pl.)

This fine monograph gives the results of an intensive field study carried out during many months of 1940-41 by Dr. Beals in close co-operation with a large number of Mexican, particularly Tarascan, collaborators and informants. Cherán, the village studied, lies about 250 miles west of Mexico City, and is the largest and one of the most isolated mountain Tarascan towns. In racial type and in language the population of Cherán is almost entirely Indian, but the culture is predominantly Spanish, of sixteenth-century Spain, repatterned somewhat by pre-Spanish native culture and by the great Bishop Vasco de Quiroga's local adaptation of Thomas More's *Utopia.*

Beals' work includes detailed objective descriptions of the geographical setting of the town and of the technological procedures, economic life, community organization, religion and ceremonial observances, and life-cycle customs of the people. Thus it limns for the reader a rounded picture of what the Tarascans of Cherán are and do and think. The study should have a double value for those interested in Mexican history: it reveals the end results, in the lives of the people themselves, of four centuries of European impact on native ways; it gives an intimate insight into the people's everyday thinking and living, an insight without which the historian must perforce reconstruct only in part and will be in greater jeopardy of distorting the part he does reconstruct. And incidentally, the attitudes, here soberly recorded, of present-day Tarascans on the local aspects of major national Mexican economic, political, and religious problems throw much light on these problems themselves. (JOHN M. COOPER)

BURGIN, MIRON. *The Economic Aspects of Argentine Federalism, 1820-1852.* [Harvard Economic Studies, Vol. LXXVIII.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1946. Pp. xiv, 304. $4.00.)

While the general outlines of the economic history of Argentina from 1820 to 1852 are familiar to foreign scholars and a good many of its details are well known to a few Argentine experts, no adequate survey of that history had been published before the appearance of Dr. Burgin's volume. Based upon a large array of original sources carefully examined and judiciously interpreted, written in a clear and pleasing style, it is a commendable work. No phase of the subject is neglected: tariffs, land policy, agriculture and stockraising, the scanty handicraft industries, and transportation (or rather lack of facilities) are all discussed, with emphasis on the connection between economic issues and political problems, which is the main theme of the book. Only one criticism is offered: the volume contains no maps. This reviewer would have been better pleased if the author had written an economic history of Argentine from 1820 to 1882, or even from 1820 to 1945; but the nature of his work was determined by his immediate objective, the preparation of a dissertation for the doctorate, and expansion of the volume after the degree was conferred was probably prevented by other duties. The significance of the period dealt with cannot be fully com-

prehended without greater familiarity with the later story. Indications are not lacking, however, that Dr. Burgin has both the intention and the capacity to supply the need for a well-rounded history of the Argentine economy since the winning of independence. Such a work could hardly fail to receive wide applause. (J. Fred Rippy)

Casey, Robert Pierce. *Religion in Russia.* (New York: Harper & Bros. 1946. Pp. viii, 198. $2.00.)

Dr. Casey, professor at Brown University and an Episcopal minister, presents in book form the Lowell Lectures which he delivered at King's Chapel in 1945. He traces briefly the historical development of the Russian Church from Tartar times up to its absorption by a voracious state under the tsars. He discusses the various sects which flourished in Russia, anti-religious theory in that country, the attack on religion during the revolution, and the revival of Orthodoxy. The most interesting section of the book treats the outlook for religion in the future, the relations of Orthodoxy with Catholicism and Anglicanism, and the swiftly-moving events in Russian church history during the last year.

Religion has revived in Russia. Churches and seminaries are open. A substantial part of confiscated church property has been returned. How long this situation will last is a matter for speculation in which Dr. Casey refuses to indulge. But, as he observes, "Once the government decided to tolerate religion, it was important that it should also regulate it" (p. 184). To this end there has been established a Soviet Council on Orthodox Affairs. No ecclesiastics are members—only Soviet officials. "It is a government agency designed to gauge and control the expansion of the Church in accordance with the wishes of the state" (p. 185). In view of this arrangement we find somewhat confusing and thoroughly unconvincing the statement by Karpov, the head of the council, that in Russia, Church and State are separated.

Dr. Casey is impressed by the "masterful strategy" of the patriarchs in maintaining and advancing church life during the past twenty-five years. To us it would seem rather that by recognizing the sovereignty of the Soviet state, the Russian Church has delivered itself to that state; that by its compromises it has succeeded only in producing an Erastianism fully as degrading as that which obtained under the tsars; that by its present policy it will succeed only in achieving its own ineffectiveness and eventual destruction. (Bradford Colton)

Cheney, C. R. (Ed.). *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History.* [Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, No. 4.] (London: Royal Historical Society. 1945. Pp. xvii, 164. 6s.)

Here is a brief introduction to methods of chronology, and a work of reference "limited to the dating of records which a student of English history will commonly encounter." It has been published to replace the older English handbooks of dates, which are now out of print; and from one of these, F. M. Powicke's *Handbook of British Chronology*, it has drawn the basic material for "Reckonings of Time," "Saints Days and Festivals," and "Legal Chronology." For the

rest, it includes a list of the rulers of England, the Popes from the time of Gregory I, a Roman calendar, and "Calendars for All Possible Dates of Easter." Whereas it is necessarily sketchy in the treatment of chronology it has an excellent bibliography for further reference. Many historians will find this a very useful instrument. There is much in the book for the student of modern England even though it appears to be more useful to the mediaevalist. For example, it can explain why the log of H. M. S. *Victory* records the battle of Trafalgar as taking place October 22, 1805, while according to any landlubber's calendar it was the afternoon of October 21 of that year (p. 10). Indispensable for the library reference shelf, its low price should justify a purchase by any scholar aware of the pitfalls of rendering dates. (JOHN T. FARRELL)

CRONIN, JOHN F., S.S., Professor of Economics, St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore. *Economic Analysis and Problems.* (New York: American Book Co. 1945. Pp. xv, 623. $3.75.)

In his preface Father Cronin outlines his aim as a "comprehensive introduction to modern economic life." He treats: (1) Structure of the Economic System; (2) Value, Price and Exchange; (3) Functioning of the Economic System; (4) Problems and Philosophies of Distribution. Teachers working with returned G.I.'s will be particularly grateful for the combination of theory and practice, analysis and history, that is so apt to focus the attention of men unused to purely theoretical study.

Historians will probably be attracted by the brief but lucid explanation of the rise of modern economic life in the first chapter. The author has the happy knack of recalling to the mind of the reader the fact that the incidents discussed did not occur in our day but in the milieu of another age when they seemed perfectly logical. He conveys the feeling of united Christendom without giving the impression that all was sweetness and light with our forbears. His striving to bring out the dynamic of economic history has been rewarded with a success that makes the task look deceptively easy. The chapter on the story of American economic life, recalls enough of the swashbuckling days of our history to interest all classes of readers.

Special mention should be made of the rather extensive though professedly not exhaustive bibliographies appended to most chapters. Since he mentions lesser lights, Father Cronin might have included J. E. Thorold Rogers. We might also expect that the reader would be reminded of W. Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce,* in the first historical chapter rather than in the later chapter on the history of Catholic social thought.

The publishers complimented Father Cronin by giving his book a splendid quality of paper and typography. A very liberal use was made of italics. Some may find it too liberal. Besides using this style type for topical paragraph lead-ins, a frequent use is made in the text to emphasize a word much as a teacher would emphasize a word vocally. Pedagogues generally will like it, but it is so obviously a teaching device that it may annoy more mature readers. A couple of examples will bring out the point. "The *beginnings* were rude and primitive." "*English policy* towards the colonies was mercantilism" (p. 25).

This last emphasis leads one to look for contrasting Dutch or Portuguese policy and distracts from the very important "mercantilism." Random sampling indicates an average of two such type stresses per page. (CLIFFORD A. CARROLL.)

CRUICKSHANK, C. G. *Elizabeth's Army.* (London and New York: Oxford University Press. 1946. Pp. 156. $2.75.)

This latest volume in the Oxford Historical Series is based upon a thesis submitted at Oxford University. It conforms roughly to the general aim of the series, the advancement of knowledge of the structural development of British society, by presenting an outline of the organization of the military expeditions which left England between 1585 and 1603 for service in the Netherlands, France, and Ireland. The course of these expeditions is traced from the intitial levying of forces and the journey overseas to the troops in the field—with chapters on rations, arms and equipment, uniforms, musters, pay, discipline, and the medical service.

Though there is material here for a highly interesting study in social history, it is undeveloped. The book is primarily a description of a brief but important stage in the evolution of the British army. True, there are references to the general spirit of corruption that impaired the efficiency of Elizabeth's army, to the popular resentment to foreign military service and unwillingness to support it financially, and to the levels of society from which soldiers were drawn. But for the most part the book is concerned with an analysis of abuses in army organization, attempts of the government to correct them, and development in military theory and practice. Even an occasional anecdote does not succeed in making of such an analysis easy reading.

The author's contribution, however, in addition to his presenting a detailed study of the inefficiency of Elizabethan military organization, lies in his adducing evidence to correct earlier judgments, e.g., those of Sir J. W. Fortescue in his *History of the British Army,* that such inefficiency was chargeable to the criminal negligence of the Tudors, especially of Elizabeth. These judgments might have been more favorable, concludes the author, if the difficulties in the path of the government had been considered—as he considers them. Though such a conclusion has its political implications, the appeal of this brief study will be limited to the student of military history. (JAMES A. REYNOLDS)

DAVIS, HAROLD E., Dean and Professor of History, Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio. *Makers of Democracy in Latin America.* (New York: H. W. Wilson Co. 1945. Pp. 124. $1.90.)

This volume is a collection of short biographical sketches of soldiers, intellectuals, and politicians who have been leaders in the movement for liberal reform generally, throughout Latin America, in the nineteenth century and into the contemporary years of the twentieth. It is divided into three sections, the first dealing with the movement for independence, the second devoted to nineteenth-century liberals, and the third concerned with Latin American makers of democracy today.

As the author points out in his preface, the book does not endeavor to present a balanced history of democracy in Latin America, much less a study of democracy as such. A few representatives of conservatism are included; but the general trend of development is evident in the deliberate omission of Porfirio Diáz from a list that includes Benito Juárez, Venustiano Carranza, and Lázaro Cárdenas. Leaders of the first rank, it is pointed out, despite the great need for political, technical, cultural, and spiritual leadership, have been comparatively few. On the other hand, democracy is recognized as the essence of the struggles of the American spirit in Latin America for independence. The liberation of Negro slaves, the gradual absorption of the Indian masses into national life, and fundamental faith in the achievement of a better economic and social order through a fuller equality of opportunity and participation of the populace in political processes—these are indications advanced to show the kinship of Latin American democracy to that of the United States.

One of the most powerful forces in these directions, responsible for much of the turbulence of the nineteenth century, has been the emergence of the *mestizo* class, broadening the basis of society and determined to overthrow tyrannical dictatorship, whether of the types originating in European class and race distinctions or those native to the tribal patterns of the new world. In recognizing this factor, however, the author is inclined to follow a common tendency of seeing tyranny identified almost exclusively in the Spanish feudal, religious, and political institutions and to neglect the element of personal greed and gangsterism that has been so constant an enemy of social justice and cultural advance in many of the Latin American countries. Despite the set-backs of the later nineteenth century, and the wave of dictatorships in the 1930's, the democratic impulse is seen as a steady force which will manifest substantial achievement in the next decades.

The "thumb nail" character of the sketches leaves little room to elaborate upon the details of the liberal reform or of the reactions to and long-range consequences of the measures taken. Thus Juárez is stated to have produced bitter conflict by his church reforms, which were motivated not by "anti-religious feeling so much as a liberal economic and social philosophy which prompted his program." Nothing is said of the national effects of his reform upon religious life, education, and progress in the country, or of the development of peonage which followed on the heels of his land reforms.

Within perfectly understandable limitations, however, this slender volume presents a valuable introduction to and compendium of Latin American liberalism. Practically none of the contributions of Spanish culture or of Catholicism is noted or credited; but these are not in the tide of the author's interests, sympathies, or present concern. Each chapter is followed by a short bibliography for further reading in English and Spanish. (JAMES A. MAGNER)

DULLES, FOSTER RHEA. *China and America. The Story of Their Relations Since 1784.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1946. Pp. vii, 227. $2.75.)

In a companion volume to his *The Road to Teheran,* Foster Rhea Dulles here considers the relationship which has existed between China and the United

States from 1784 to the present. It is a short and simple narrative of fact with brief interpretation. The book has a definite value for one who desires a complete, but curtailed account of Sino-American diplomacy.

The record makes it evident that the United States has at no time followed a definite policy in her relation with China, nor has our attitude been entirely altruistic. While we deplored the forcing of unequal treaties on China by the various European powers, we invariably demanded all the benefits granted to others in these treaties. Yet our record in China is not bad. The absolute incompetence of Chinese officialdom has been responsible, more than anything else, for the series of disasters which have visited China in the last one hundred years and is in great part to blame for the present chaotic condition in that country.

The author has underestimated the effect which Christianity has had in China. While it is true that numerically few, less than one percent of the population, have embraced Christianity, the total effect of the impact of occidental and oriental culture has been all out of proportion to the number of converts to Christianity. The final third of the book relates events since the end of World War I. These pages in great part are the interpretation of events by the author, whereas the previous chapters were culled from the works of well known authorities on China. This last section is the weakest from a historical point of view. The details of Sino-American relations and agreements during the last few years are not yet fully known. On the other hand the narration of events for this period is valuable in any attempt to understand the present involved situation between the Chinese national government and the Reds on the one hand and the United States and Russia on the other.

There is no indication that Professor Dulles has gone to original sources for his material. The work is a good journalistic account rather than history. There is nothing startling and little that is new in the interpretation of events. The lack of footnotes and references is regrettable. (JOSEPH P. RYAN)

EASTERBY, J. H. (Ed.), Professor of History in the College of Charleston. *The South Carolina Rice Plantation As Revealed in the Papers of Robert W. F. Allston.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1946. Pp. xxi, 478. $5.00.)

Here is the raw material from which history is written; unconscious history at its best. This is no sentimental world or southern idyll, but a collection of letters dealing with the ordinary life on a plantation, letters of a mother to her son, of a man to his wife, of a father to his son. Herein is contained picayune matters of the plantation, side views on state and national culture and politics, rumblings of war, the rise and decline of a dynasty.

Letters of others have little fascination except to the one addressed, but here is a generation, rather three generations—beginning in 1818 and going up to 1868. As one reads, he becomes warmed to Robert Allston, seeing him not only in his business, in politics, not only when he is giving money and encouragement to emigrants who are going to Kansas to swing the election toward making that territory a slave-holding state, but also when he writes his wife telling how he misses her while she is visiting her sister in Charleston—missing her especially while at the communion table:—"The sacrament was administered.

I miss'd you from my side. There is a Holy beauty, most attractive to me is the spectacle of two persons so intimately connected, in the one spirit of repentence and humble reliance on a Common Savior, bending the knee before this sacred feast."

Mr. Easterby has drawn from these letters a narrative explanation of the organization of a rice plantation, and gives it an introduction together with background study on the Georgetown district and the Allston family. It most adequately supplies the knowledge necessary for the understanding of these letters. The book is offered as a collection of source material and will serve best as a reference book. The index seems quite sufficient. (RICHARD C. MADDEN)

FERRAR, CLARISSA P. and AUSTIN P. EVANS. *Bibliography of English Translations from Medieval Sources.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1946. Pp. xiii, 534. $7.50.)

The compilers of this *Bibliography* have given to students of the Middle Ages an inclusive guide to existing English translations of the important literary sources produced in the Persian, Arabic, Greek, Latin, Celtic, Icelandic, Romance, Teutonic, and Slavic languages during the period from Constantine the Great to the year 1500 in Europe, northern Africa, and western Asia. Within these limits, the *Bibliography* lists all translations of more than a few pages with their editions and reprints published previous to the winter of 1942. Translations, however, of authors and in fields for which there exists special biliographical guides are only selectively included with a notation of the available reference tools. Some documentary material is listed, but, on the whole, such material has been deferred to a projected supplementary volume.

The some 4,000 items of the *Bibliography*, numbered separately, are listed alphabetically by author except in the case of anonymous works and of materials so related that they are placed to best advantage under separate headings such as liturgy and ritual, apocrypha, etc. In listing translations of the works of a given author, collections, arranged chronologically, come first, then single works in alphabetical order, and, lastly, translations of suppositious works. Many of the entries are annotated. The notes give a brief indication of the content of little known works and of collections, of variations in title, of editions and reprints and their relationship, and of any critical problems that may exist in regard to a given work with direction to a fuller discussion of those problems.

A complete index adds to the value of the *Bibliography*. The numbers which indicate each separate item in the body of the work are used in the index and for cross-reference.

Students of the Middle Ages are, indeed, indebted to the compilers of the *Bibliography* for the tremendous amount of labor and study that they have expended in the preparation of this volume. (SISTER GENEVIEVE MARIE COOK)

GARDINER, HAROLD C., S.J. *Mysteries' End: An Investigation of the Medieval Religious Stage.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1946. Pp. xvi, 142. $3.00.)

Nothing is misleading about *Mysteries' End* except its punning title. It is an

admirable and much-needed study of the causes of the decline of the religious drama in England and, incidentally of that on the continent. It is important not only because its conclusions overthrow the long accepted views of literary historians and point the way to a re-examination of the history of early English drama but, in a larger sense, because it challenges that approach to the study of the religious plays which is primarily "Pre-Shakespearian" and which ignores the significance of mediaeval drama as such.

Mysteries' End is a monograph written by a specialist for specialists. The evidence it presents is cumulative and its arguments are closely reasoned. Briefly stated, Father Gardiner's thesis is that the decline of the religious drama was due to none of the reasons usually presented, singly or in combination by the historians of literature: the continued hostility of the "Church" toward the drama, the increasing unwillingness and economic inability of the guildsmen to support the plays, the shift of popular taste from religious to secular themes (a neat evolutionary doctrine which fits all the types of religious plays into one of those patterns whose very symmetry should make them suspect to the wary scholar). His conclusion is that the primary cause of the decline of the plays was the spirit of the Protestant Revolt. In his own words:

> So the same forces that spelled the end of the mysteries in England were at work in the whole of Christendom: the spirit of the Reformation caused authorities, lay or ecclesiastical, to suppress the plays. In those countries where the government was itself hostile to Rome, as in England and Protestant Germany, the suppression was on the grounds that the plays were too Catholic; in those lands where the Protestants, while not being the dominant force, were nevertheless a dangerous minority, as in France and Italy, the suppression was due to caution on the part of Church and State to avoid points of friction. Spain alone had little to fear from the Reformation, and there accordingly the religious stage enjoys a life two centuries longer than in other lands.

The evidence and arguments leading to this conclusion are carefully documented and the biliography reveals the extent and thoroughness of the research entailed in making the study. Father Gardiner has been as cautious in the interpretation of his findings as he was thorough in his search for and examination of relevant documents here and abroad. In this, his first monograph, he has presented a model for the type of mediaeval scholarship he pleads for: a scholarly, understanding, and sympathetic interpretation of the history and literature of the Middle Ages. (SISTER M. EMMANUEL COLLINS)

GOODRICH, LELAND M., and EDWARD HAMBRO. *Charter of the United Nations: Commentary and Documents.* (Boston: World Peace Foundation. 1946. Pp. xiii, 400. $2.50.)

This volume, written by two men who participated in the San Francisco Conference, is among the first of what promises to be a large number of publications on the subject. It is divided into three parts: (1) Development and General Plan of the Conference, (2) Commentary on the Articles of the Charter, and (3) Documents relating to World War II and the United Nations

Organization. An exhaustive bibliography of basic literature on international organization is included.

The authors' declared purpose, a modest one, is that of providing "some assistance to the student and layman desiring a better understanding of the Charter as drafted at San Francisco" (p. vi). This purpose, the reviewer feels, is ably carried out. To enhance such an understanding on the part of students and laymen, comparisons have been developed between the articles of the League Covenant and the articles of the Charter. Covenant origins of many of the phrases found in the Charter are cited. Both extreme idealism and optimism have been carefully avoided in interpreting the Charter for the reader. But the authors arrive at the sound conclusion that "the Charter . . . assumes the character of basic law of the international community" (p. 281) and results in "a realization of the oneness of international organization" (p. 258).

While a few of the commentaries on the articles in Part II appear unnecessary, labored, and mere duplication (pp. 100-01, 140-41, 270), the interpretation is sound and is based upon conventional definitions of political concepts. Undoubtedly, the most outstanding contribution of this publication is the fact that it carries the reader behind the scenes into the committees, where the real labors of drafting the Charter took place (pp. 72, 75, 87-89, 125-130). Areas of conflict and differences of interest which existed among the assembled representatives are indicated. This volume will be particularly welcomed by students, for it represents a valuable and complete source book of contemporary documents relating to World War II and the United Nations Organization. (BERNARD H. NELSON)

HAFFERT, JOHN MATTHIAS. *The Peacemaker Who Went to War: The Life of Blessed Nun' Alvarez Pereira, Precursor of Our Lady of Fatima.* (New York: Scapular Press. 1945. Pp. viii, 212. $2.50.)

Father Haffert, writer on devotion to the Blessed Virgin and especially on the brown scapular, gives us a biography of an outstanding son of Mary. Nun' Alvarez Pereira was the general of the Portuguese armies in the war for independence from Castile in 1383-1385. He died a Carmelite brother in 1431. Benedict XV raised Nuno to the rank of the blessed in 1918, extolling him as a model of Christian patriotism. Father Haffert's book is one of inspiration rather than of scientific history. The story is told with invented dialogue and descriptions of internal reactions. It is written to arouse emulation of Blessed Nuno's devotion to our Lady and to inspire confidence in her as the one who alone, under God, can bring peace to the world. The two final chapters are devoted to a description of the apparitions at Fatima in 1917 just a few miles from the battlefields on which the saintly general fought for his Lady and his land. (SHAWN G. SHEEHAN)

HAGGERTY, EDWARD. *Guerrilla Padre in Mindanao.* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Pp. xii, 257. $2.75.)

In their struggle for independence the Filipinos may well be proud of the heroic and courageous chapter of their resistance against the domination in-

flicted upon them by the "brutalized semi-barbarians" of Japan. This resistance movement was not a mere fight for the possession of their native lands. For the Filipinos, its roots grew deeper; in reality it was a desperate struggle of Christian ideals and fidelity over paganism.

Father Haggerty in his *Guerrilla Padre in Mindanao* gives a vivid inside picture of this struggle which runs high in the records of heroism in war annals. At the outbreak of the war the author was rector of the Ateneo de Cagayan. In less than fifteen months a price was on his head and the Japanese called him "the Guerrilla Priest." Written for the most part while under fire or on the run from the Japanese, this is an account of the bitter fight between the independent Filipino people who would never let themselves be conquered and the Japanese who "never learned the art of winning over the Filipinos" (p. 46).

Though seemingly conquered, with their crude and coarse enemy occupying nine-tenths of their lands and with a minimum of arms, ammunition, and manpower, the Filipino people courageously fought on behind the lines tying up Japanese divisions, blasting bridges and setting the scene for the triumphal return of MacArthur. The spirit that won the victory is best phrased by Father Haggerty in a sermon he preached hundreds of times. "Most of us have lost our material possessions . . . But the things of the spirit, if once lost, crush down a man and a nation so that they can never rise . . . If you ever lose your faith and hope in God, and your love for one another . . . then all things are really lost. But with faith strong, hope unshaken, and unity among ourselves, nothing really is lost. With these some day we will build anew a more beautiful land" (p. 38).

Due to the circumstances of its writing the story is disjointed. Characters pop in and out and do not stay for long. Besides an adequate index there is a duplicate map at the beginning and end that is helpful, although sketchy. In this book the historian of the future will find much raw material. (JOSEPH P. FLYNN)

HARMON, NOLAN B., JR. *The Famous Case of Myra Clark Gaines.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1946. Pp. xi, 481. $3.50.)

This book could be subtitled "why marriage records should be strictly kept by priests." Two records of marriage—that could not be found—enter into this case. Surely if Myra Clark Gaines could have produced a copy of that record supposedly made in an unidentified church in Philadelphia, every court of Louisiana, the Supreme Court of the United States, and many another court would have been saved inestimable time and money. But was there ever a marriage in that unidentified church before an unidentified priest? That was a question the best lawyers of the land could not answer.

Myra Clark Gaines could claim title to being the most persistent woman of American history. By her claim to the property of Daniel Clark, she kept her case before the Supreme Court for sixty years. Thirty justices considered it. The record was so great that the Supreme Court was unable to read it. As Mr. Harmon puts it: "No man living could change her with laches."

The story of Myra Clark Gaines is so involved with prominent figures—Aaron Burr, General Wilkinson, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Robert Goodloe Harper, Roger B. Taney, Zachary Taylor, Daniel Webster, General Beauregard and others—that it reads like a historical novel in the popular trilogy form. But here is no novel but a lawsuit that as late as 1891 cost the city of New Orleans over $500,000.

Mr. Harmon has handled the matter well and in a rather readable form. With so much technical law involved, it would be difficult for the material not to become tedious at times. A mass of material has been written on this case. This work seems to correlate and evaluate what has gone before and gives the case of Myra Clark Gaines in a swift clear arrangement. The index is very incomplete. (RICHARD C. MADDEN)

HOFFMAN, FREDERICK J., CHARLES ALLEN, and CAROLYN F. ULRICH. *The Little Magazine: A History and a Bibliography.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1946. Pp. ix, 440. $3.75.)

"Little," as applied to the subjects of this treatise, has nothing to do with their size. By the authors' definition a "little magazine" is one "designed to print artistic work which for reasons of commercial expediency is not acceptable to the money-minded periodicals or presses." They are the *avant-garde* of contemporary literature, the experimenters, the impecunious, ephemeral, frequently unconventional, vocal media of fledgeling or unorthodox authors attempting to obtain a hearing. Too often many of them were rebels against public taste and Christian morality. But that they possess some importance may be realized from the fact that they were the first publishers (since 1912) of about eighty percent of our leading poets, critics, and fiction writers who otherwise may have had a difficult time breaking into print.

The authors have recorded the accomplishments of the "little magazines" in two forms—a history and a bibliography. The history, written by Drs. Hoffman and Allen and allotted 230 pages, narrates the birth, rise, and fall, mainly since 1912, of the most significant of these literary heralds in six categories: poetic, leftist, regional, experimental, critical, and eclectic. Most important in the poetic category is Harriet Monroe's *Poetry,* launched in 1912 as an organ for such new songsters as Vachel Lindsay and Robert Frost who had slim chance of publication in the quality magazines of the day.

Among the left-wingers may be mentioned *The Masses,* which proclaimed vigorously for Marxism but, for its trouble, became embroiled with the Department of Justice in 1918 for interfering with enlistment. John T. Frederick's *Midland* was the first coherent voice among the regional prints to present the spirit of the Middle West. The experimental have been the most prolific type of "little magazine" and have deviated most radically from the ordinary canons of literature and taste. Probably the most prominent was Margaret Anderson's *Little Review,* catering in turn to anarchism, symbolism, dadaism, surrealism, and other aberrations. Then, there may be mentioned *The Dial* among those devoted to criticism and reviewing. Finally, we may note that the eclectic periodicals have been mostly nurtured in university circles.

The history is based chiefly on research in secondary sources and in the magazines themselves, but there is some oral and written correspondence between the authors and various individuals in the "little magazine" world.

Perhaps the more useful portion of the book will be the bibliography (165 pages), compiled by a veteran bibliographer, Miss Carolyn Ulrich. It gives quite complete information on more than 500 titles, noting publishers, dates, frequency, places of publication, editors and other pertinent data. Each title is accompanied by a full annotation mentioning prominent personalities, events, and products of the magazine's career. (CHARLES R. GELLNER)

HOOLE, W. STANLEY. *The Ante-Bellum Charleston Theatre.* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1946. Pp. xx, 230. $3.50.)

The Ante-Bellum Charleston Theatre is an interesting volume on one phase of life in "America's most historic city," covering the years of the past century up to the outbreak of the tragic War between the States. The work, as originally planned, was to have been but a part of a larger, more inclusive study of ante-bellum Charleston's intellectual and artistic development. It is to be hoped that the author will see fit to complete the contemplated work in its fulness and that in it he will maintain the excellent standards in scholarship and research that he reaches in the present work.

Limiting himself to the story of the theatre in Charleston from 1800 to 1860, and patiently exhausting every source touching on the subject that he could track down, the author was constantly reminded "of the lack of attention paid to the drama in the South by students of American Literature. This failure to treat the theatre as a distinct factor in the moulding of public opinion and character has been a notable omission." Mr. Hoole has done much in his book to remedy that omission and to supply to students of the theatre and other interested readers a book of great value. The text is fully documented by excellent footnotes which of themselves give many highlights of the course of events in Charleston during the ante-bellum period.

During the "prosperous decade," 1852-61,—the fatal years of the great commercial boom in the South, "a feeling of complacent satisfaction with existing customs, manners, attainments, economic systems and life in general brought about to some degree a feeling of self-sufficiency and, perhaps, of superiority that urged the South to build a separate nation. Out of it grew a defiant independence that was to play a major part in the Secession Movement of 1860." It was during this era that the theatre in Charleston reached its highest point in artistic presentation and that stars of the first magnitude played to packed houses. A long and glorious line of famed actors trod the boards up to the season of 1859-60 when the immortal Booth, supported by Julia Dean, appeared in Charleston for the last time.

For the day of crisis was at hand. "Too many were the pressures and excitements of real life in these stirring days for Charlestonians to be interested in the 'mimic scene' . . . On December 20, 1860, the storm broke; South Carolina seceded from the Union," and ere many months Charleston was a beleaguered

city, soon to sit among her ruins, and in her pride and grief lament the passing of a glory that never quite burst upon her.

The foreword to the book was written by Professor Arthur Hobson Quinn of the University of Pennsylvania under whose direction and inspiration much research has been done on the history of the early American theatre. *The Ante-Bellum Charleston Theatre* is, indeed, a notable contribution to the ever-growing list of worth-while books dealing with Charleston's contribution to the art of fine living characteristic of the old South. (JOSEPH L. O'BRIEN)

HOUCK, FREDERICK A., *A Biographical Sketch of St. Ann's Parish, Toledo, Ohio.* (Toledo: The Author. 1945. Pp. 118. $1.00.)

The title of this volume is misleading as the author does not intend to give a complete history of the parish of St. Ann. His chief aim is to present some material that he feels may be of help to those engaged in pastoral work. The first chapter reviews the history of the parish from its foundation in 1898 to the dedication of the new church in 1926. The chapters that follow are devoted to a description of the new church with special comments on its beauty of material and design, parish societies, and the parish school. The statistical lists at the end of the book, the fine photographs of the church, and the detailed map of the parish boundaries are its chief claim to historical importance.

Though vivid in style and correct in form, the volume is somewhat disappointing to those who know that Father Houck has been closely connected with St. Ann's since 1912. One feels that he could have served the cause of church history much better had he eliminated many quotations from Ralph Adams Cram and inserted his personal memories of the many interesting and important events in the history of the parish. The chapter on the first twenty-seven years of its history is summarized in five pages while twenty-six pages are devoted to the architecture of the new church. The chapter on the stations contains nothing of a local nature other than the names of the donors. The chapter on the parish school merely mentions the chief reasons for a Catholic educational system without indicating the size, increase or decrease of the parish school. The author does mention that there has been some decline in the spiritual and material growth of the parish and attributes it to the war, high wages, and women in industry.

The volume was privately published and will be of interest to present and former parishioners, but it can hardly have a wide appeal as it is neither a model for parish historians to follow nor does it contain enough information for the person interested in the general development of Catholicism in the United States. (EDWARD C. DUNN)

KUTTNER, STEPHANUS. *Decreta Septem Priorum Sessionum Concilii Tridentini.* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1946. Pp. xliii, 103. $5.00.)

This volume of meticulous scholarship represents the type of work that will have to be done more and more in this country if the Church in America is to assume the Catholic intellectual leadership once so flourishing in Europe

and now all but destroyed there. It is for scholars only, and none but the critical need apply.

In a graceful Latin preface, Father Jerome D. Hannan lays the background for the volume. Some of Father Hannan's neat observations make one wish that his preface were available to the general reader. We are told, for instance, that in the twenty years from 1525 to 1545 the Protestants had maneuvered to fix on the Church the character of the accused rather than of the accuser; 1545 represented the moment desired by holy men for an authoritative pronouncement on the ancient discipline—ancient but not antiquated.

From 1545 to 1945 are four hundred years. Primarily, this study is a quadricentennial tribute to the triumphant labors of the Council of Trent. These labors seem most fruitful in the final sessions. But without the painful efforts of the prime movers to convene the council and keep it convened, the last chapters may never have seen the light. Fortunately, we have the account of the first seven sessions in the handwriting of the council's able secretary, Angelo Massarelli. What is more, that account reposes in the Morgan Library in New York. This manuscript Professor Kuttner takes as the basis of his study. With a wealth of critical notations, he compares it with other texts. In parallel columns Codices A, M, B, C, and R are printed for variant readings. Each leaf of the Morgan manuscript is reproduced in photographic facsimile. On the page opposite to this is a clear Latin printing of the same.

In its mechanical perfection alone the volume is a tribute. Its excelling scholarship would have delighted the Tridentine fathers. In fact, this critical study would seem to write *finis* to any more controversy about what was done in the first seven sessions. (FREDERICK E. WELFLE)

LAMB, HAROLD. *Alexander of Macedon. The Journey to World's End.* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc. 1946. Pp. viii, 402. $3.50.)

In a "Note" following the main text the author gives the background of his book. It was written in Asia during the war, and he travelled over most of the ground covered by Alexander in his campaigns outside of northern India. He already possessed a first-hand knowledge of Macedonia, Greece, and the Aegean islands, Arrian, Quintus Curtius, Aristotle, Demosthenes, and Plutarch were apparently used chiefly in translation, and some help was received from oriental scholars whom he met along the way. The book is an "endeavor to re-create for the reader today that journey of the Macedonians, under Alexander. So this book is a re-creation from imagination only in the sense that details were pieced together from different sources on the scene itself, in an attempt to form a whole. It is an attempt to visualize Alexander as he was at that time, to see what he might well have seen in his long journey. . . ." The present work, therefore, is not a scholarly contribution to the literature on Alexander in the strict sense. It is not to be placed—nor was it so intended—beside Wilcken, Radet, or Tarn. The author has given us rather a dramatic and somewhat novelistic treatment of Alexander based on an imaginative reading of the conventional ancient literary sources, but combined with a personal

knowledge of the Balkans and of the Near and Middle East. On the whole, he has not taken too many liberties with the ancient sources, and he has written a book on Alexander which should be both interesting and profitable to the general reader. There is a satisfactory index, and a map of Alexander's world on the inside covers. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

LOWIE, ROBERT H. *The German People. A Social Portrait to 1914.* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc. 1945. Pp. 143. $1.75.)

The survey which the well-known professor of anthropology at the University of California presents in this small volume, has grown out of a life-long familiarity with Germans, their language, and their culture, and may be considered the first part of a study in which he intends to deal with the reactions of Germans of all classes toward the Nazi regime.

In answering the question: who are the Germans? the author states in the introduction that the term can hardly be limited to citizens of the Reich, since political affiliation is an artificial and ever-changing thing. The Swiss authors, Gotfried Keller, Conrad Ferdinand Meyer, the national poet of Austria, Franz Grillparzer, the Austrian-born composers, Mozart, Haydn, and Schubert, and the embryologist Karl Ernst von Baer, born in Esthonia, for example, regarded themselves as in some sense German. Referring to Ernst Moritz Arndt's famous word that the German's country shall range as far as the German tongue is heard, Professor Lowie denies that a common language is the nature of the bond that unites the Germans. The Germans, he states, very appreciably differ in their speech, and Low German and High German, for instance, are not merely different dialects of German, but separate languages. The author, however, admits that the vaunted unity of the German language is not wholly fictitious. Thanks to the imperial bureaucracy in the dying Middle Ages, the translation of the Bible by Martin Luther, and the works of the German classics of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, an artificial standard of the German language was created which came to be distinguished as High German in a derived sense.

In two subsequent sections the author deals with the development of the German culture before 1871, and in imperial Germany. In the first period, he states, the trend of German culture was generally cosmopolitan, favoring particularism and separatism; in the following era, a new German patriotism born out of the Napoleonic wars became predominant. It centered about Prussia, and aimed at the unification of Germany under Prussian hegemony. In imperial Germany, the new jingoism dominated the political system, education, social life, and material conditions, and made clearer the rise and maintenance of Hitler. However, it did not wholly swamp earlier attitudes which were nourished by the internationalism of science, socialism, and the Catholic Church.

Lowie concludes his scholarly and fair study with an outlook not wholly desperate as to the future of the Germans. The author thinks the Germans who have repeatedly abandoned forms of conduct and attitudes that seemed rigidly fixed are capable of change and reform.

A biographical glossary, a selected reading list, references, and a satisfactory index enhance the value of the volume. (HENRY JOSEPH BRUEHL)

MARQUEZ OCTAVIANO (Ed.). *Obras selectas de D. Trinidad Sánchez Santos:* Tomo I. *Discursos y poesías.* (Puebla: Biblioteca Palafox. 1945. Pp. 626.)

Trinidad Sánchez Santos was born on his family's *hacienda* near the city of Humantla, Puebla, in 1859. He attended the Palafox Seminary of Puebla from 1869 to 1878. Then, deciding that the priesthood was not his true vocation, he left the seminary, and finally decided that Catholic journalism would be the best field for his efforts. He soon became known as an orator of rare gifts, a writer of beautiful style, and a poet of considerable ability. His rise in public estimation continued steadily until 1899, when he became the editor and publisher of the daily, *El País.* From that time until his death in 1912, he was the acknowledged leader of Catholic journalism in Mexico, sharing the honor only with Victoriano Agüeros, editor of *El Tiempo.*

Dr. Márquez, professor of the Seminary of Puebla, has had the happy inspiration of presenting this great figure to us, principally by means of his own works, some of which were re-published in book form as early as 1904. The present volume is prefaced by a biographical sketch of Sánchez, together with many notes on his contemporaries and collaborators. The body of this book is divided into eight sections, the first four being the selected discourses and addresses, grouped under subject headings. Each address is introduced by an explanatory note which narrates the circumstances of the various occasions and indicates the sources from which they were drawn. In the first section, we find five addresses on the necessity and duty of the press in general and the Catholic press in particular; all are clear expositions of the principles and functions of journalism, as well as meritorious examples of literature. The second group, "Social Themes," deal with Pope Leo XIII and social problems, Christian labor and the social revolution, socialism, the socio-agrarian problem of Mexico; then follow three discourses on the necessity of religious teaching in the state schools, one on Freemasonry and lay education, and another on the future of a world without Catholic schools. Though some of the material used in the discussion of social problems is now obsolete, much of it is still valid, especially points on the socio-agrarian problem in Mexico. This last will explain Sánchez' later ardent support of Francisco I. Madero. The discourses on education were occasioned by the efforts of Mexican positivists to eliminate religious education. Sánchez offers a calm and well-reasoned defence, supporting his statements by the testimony of leaders in the movement for laicism in France and Italy. "Historical and Patriotic Discourses," are really brief but worthwhile historical studies on the evangelization of the Indian, the priest and the Indian, the Church and Mexican independence; the others are interesting, but of no great value. Practically all of the "Philosophic and Religious Discourses" are rather devotional in character. The poetry of Sánchez, presented by selections from his religious, historical, lyric, and epic poems, displays occasional flashes of inspiration.

Monsignor Márquez is to be congratulated for producing so informative a

study in a field where such study has long been needed—the work and influence of the Catholic press in Mexico; and for re-introducing a moulder of opinion of the last years of the Porfirian regime whose name and influence has been too readily forgotten. (MICHAEL B. MCCLOSKEY)

MORGAN, HELEN L. *The Mistress of the White House. The Story of Dolly Madison.* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press. 1946. Pp. 248. $2.00.)

Dolly Madison, whose life still fascinates both young and old, has remained one of the dynamic characters of American history. She is one of those women who played a prominent role not only as mistress of the White House but as a private individual as well. It is from these two points of view that Helen L. Morgan has attempted to sketch the character of glamorous Dolly.

This fictionalized biography carries us through the years of Dolly's girlhood until the end of the War of 1812. Miss Morgan portrays the shy, demure Quaker girl, attracted by pleasures foreign to eighteenth-century Quaker women, coveting jewelry, colored clothes, and allured by the fascination of parties and dances. Despite her love of the gaiety and sparkle associated with social contacts, she married John Todd, a steadfast, resolute Quaker, at her father's wish. His death of scarlet fever within a few years left her not too grief-stricken. The second marriage of Dolly Todd to James Madison necessitated a break with the Quakers, and marked the beginning of her social career; she became the much-lauded hostess of the nation as the wife of the Secretary of State, later as hostess for President Thomas Jefferson, and finally as mistress of the White House during the eight years of her husband's presidency. By the close of the War of 1812, Dolly Madison had become a symbol of loyalty, courage, and charm admirably united.

Older girls may find in Miss Morgan's book a delightful narrative account of a vivacious, young woman who rose from a secluded Quaker life to one of great social prominence. Viewed as an historical novel, one feels that the strength of character essentially a part of Dolly's success as the wife of men whom she married at the request of her parents rather than by choice, has suffered in the telling. Her enduring love of Aaron Burr all through her social career, the heroic struggle she made to preserve the precious documents of the White House during the War of 1812, the wholesome influence she had over the lives of those who knew her intimately—have no place in a story which lacks significance because of their omission. The book is entertaining, although it presents merely a picture of a charming woman, who was in reality a powerful figure in early nineteenth-century American history. (SISTER M. VIRGINA GEIGER)

MULHERN, JAMES, Associate Professor of Education, University of Pennsylvania. *A History of Education.* (New York: Ronald Press Co. 1946. Pp. xii, 647. $4.50.)

This volume, the author points out in his preface, is intended as a textbook in an undergraduate course in the history of education in which the emphasis is given to the development of education as a social institution, particularly in

the western world and especially in modern times. Thus, it is not a history of education "as it used to be presented, and is still presented in some schools." It is a compendious book with discussions, or at least brief notices, of practically all the topics that would ordinarily be met (as well as many that would not) in any general treatment of this field of study.

Despite the multiplicity of facts included the book is disappointing. It attempts too much and too little. The lure of constantly relating education to its social milieu has made the author include far too much material that has little bearing on the student's grasp of the fundamental educational developments. The entanglement of facts of educational history with all sorts of information on social, economic, political, and other historical developments leads, not to clarity, but rather to confusion of encyclopaedic knowledge. On the other hand, too little is attempted in parts of the treatment by the author. He compresses his account of both Greek and Roman education into fifty pages, and he gives the same amount of space to what he calls mediaeval society and education, a chapter which also includes what he has to say about early Christian education. The same space is given to ancient Indian education, and half that amount to Egyptian theories and practices. Such a distribution of space seems unjustifiable.

The manner of handling many topics is unfortunate. The modernist bias of the writer leads to a careless and sometimes flippant attitude in discussions of religious personalities and subjects. This is found in his account of the relations of the Church to scientific developments and, indeed, to learning generally. He speaks of the "easy ethics" of the Jesuits, and he pictures the Church as being "fearful of modern thought."

Each chapter is followed by a series of statements "for further study" and by a list of selected readings. The study exercises are quite unsatisfactory. They are intended to be answered as true, false, or partly true and partly false. They are of a most general kind and would not aid the student in securing more experience in dealing with historical problems or in attaining additional scholarship in this study. The readings are, far too often, secondary accounts. There are no illustrations nor charts (even for such a topic as the organization of school systems), but there is a full index. (BERNARD J. KOHLBRENNER)

MULLALLY, JOSEPH PATRICK. *The Summulae Logicales of Peter of Spain.* Volume VIII of the Publication in Medieval Studies. No. 8. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame. 1945. Pp. civ, 172.)

It is impossible for one to evaluate properly the achievements of the great mediaeval scholastics without a thorough knowledge of the writings of their predecessors and contemporaries. The present work is, therefore, very timely, for it acquaints us with a little-known but important figure of the thirteenth century. While some doubt formerly existed about Peter of Spain, the author of the *Summulae logicales,* Dr. Mullally is undoubtedly correct in identifying him with the man who later became Pope John XXI and governed the Church from September, 1276, to May, 1277.

Peter of Spain wrote for the benefit of those preparing for their degree in

philosophy. He drew up a very detailed set of rules that would enable the student to distinguish the truth from the falsehood in any proposition that might be brought forward in the *disputationes*. The numerous manuscripts and editions of this book, its use as a text by many universities and by the rival philosophical schools of the Middle Ages, the commentaries which it inspired—all testify to its popularity. In fact the *Summulae logicales* helped to fix the terminology of logic for centuries to come.

Dr. Mullally gives a fine summary of the first six tracts of the *Summulae logicales*, but concentrates his main attention on the seventh one—the last, the longest, and the most important of all. For in the first part of the book (tracts 1 to 6) Peter of Spain does not attempt any discussion of the problems connected with the subject matter. It is only in the seventh tract that he has made a distinct contribution to the history of logic by his philosophizing and careful analysis of the terms—suppositions, relatives, amplifications, restrictions, distributions, and exponibles.

The war prevented the author from examining all of the manuscripts and printed editions of this work, and hence he had to content himself with a practical rather than a critical edition of the text. He has also given a very correct and readable English translation.

Originally written as a doctoral dissertation at Columbia University, the present work now appears in the Publications in Medieval Studies sponsored by the University of Notre Dame. The editors of this series have made a wise choice. More books like this will soon make the name Notre Dame as familiar in the world of scholarship as its football teams are in the world of sport. (STEPHEN MCKENNA).

O'CASEY, SEAN. *Drums under the Windows.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1946. Pp. 431. $4.50.)

Within the past twenty years many survivors of the Easter Week rising of 1916 in Dublin have given us their reminiscences of that sorrowful episode in Ireland's history. Sean O'Casey had been working up to that point for several years in his first two autobiographical volumes, *I Knock at the Door* and *Pictures in the Hallway*. In the present volume he finally reached that period and launched into the story of the rising. Memoirs, as a rule, are of little value in the writing of history because they are usually written in old age when fading memories begin to play strange tricks. O'Casey's latest work does not fail on the score of faulty memory.

Two outstanding characteristics are its brilliant literary style and the venom of its attack on Irish Catholic churchmen. From the Irish rising of 1798 down through the abortive uprisings of 1848 and 1867 there were those among disgruntled Irish revolutionaries who blamed the collapse of the movements on the active opposition of the Irish hierarchy. O'Casey pulls all the stops on this theme, the chief villain in the piece being Michael Cardinal Logue, whom he variously identifies as Lug and Log. Obviously any work written with such heat and bias can have no historical worth. O'Casey experienced a bitter and dis-

illusioned youth and attributes the loss of his Catholic faith to an avid reading of Charles Darwin and Emile Zola.

The dedication of the volume gives the theme of the jeremiad to follow: "To Dr. Michael O'Hickey, a Gael of Gaels, one-time Professor of Irish in Maynooth College. In a fight for Irish, he collided with arrogant Irish Bishops, and was summarily dismissed without a chance of defending himself; taking the case to Rome, he was defeated there by the sublety of the bishops, helped by a sly Roman Rota, ending his last proud years in poverty and loneliness." Father O'Hickey was not the martyr portrayed by O'Casey. A misfit at Maynooth, he was unable to control his classes and was removed from his teaching position. After an unsuccessful appeal to Rome he spent the remainder of his days as a priest in the Diocese of Waterford. (WILLIAM D'ARCY)

O'CONNELL, LAWRENCE J. *Are Catholic Schools Progressive?* Foreword by Clement Holland. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1946. Pp. ix, 167. $1.75.)

Objectives of this study concern the criteria for recognizing progressive education, the extent to which progressive practices have been adopted in some diocesan schools, progressive education and Catholic philosophy, and an appraisal of "practices of progressive education with a view to possible use in Catholic elementary schools." The question posed in the title is never actually answered; the general policy of Catholic educators is "one of reasoned caution."

The author presents a survey of twenty diocesan elementary school systems —from Chicago to Wichita. The survey is based on the "official publications of the diocesan school offices" collected by the St. Louis University Curriculum Laboratory. There are two glaring omissions that all but invalidate the conclusions of this study. First, no attempt is made to show that the policies set forth in the diocesan publications are actually practiced; secondly, only isolated instances of teaching methods in these schools are noted. A comparative table would have improved this study.

Though the author has a limited space in which to cover any one of his "objectives" paradoxically enough the work abounds in repetition; perhaps a classic example is page 155 that repeats almost verbatim page 152. A brief outline of the historical development of progressive education and a rather "textbookish" appraisal of progressive education and Catholic philosophy have separate chapters. The author advocates adoption of many progressive practices. Teachers in Catholic elementary schools will probably admit, with Father O'Connell, that "there is quite a bit of acrimony in both camps." (JOSEPH G. DWYER)

PANOFSKY, ERWIN (Ed. and Trans.). *Abbot Suger—On the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and its Art Treasures.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1946. Pp. xiv, 250. $3.75.)

Suger, Abbot of St.-Denis (1122-1151), was not only a wise councilor and a staunch defender of peace and unity at a critical time for the French monarchy, but when he called craftsmen from various parts of the kingdom to assist in rebuilding the abbey church, he inaugurated a new era in the history

of art. The texts presented in this volume are chosen for their interest to the archaeologist and historian of art. Although they contain information also for the social historian and the liturgist, the emphasis in the commentary naturally is on problems in art and archaeology. There are twenty-six fine illustrations and a sketch map of the church. The text follows that of A. Lecoy de la Marche, *Oeuvres Complets de Suger* (Paris, 1867). The translator's knowledge of architecture and archaeology enabled him to handle convincingly a number of obscure passages in the Latin. However, his scrupulous adherence to the structure of the Latin period and even to the very wording of the Latin results in a version which is often not English.

The introduction, in contrast, is in a lively and idiomatic style. Examining the reasons for what he considers a unique phenomenon, a patron of the arts who writes a defense of his actions, the editor finds the explanation in the circumstances of the life and in the character of the man. In response to the exhortations of St. Bernard, Suger had reformed his monastery (with a characteristic moderation), but he never accepted the austere Cistercian views that "deemed as dung whatever shines with beauty." Following his natural bent and the philosophy of Dionysius, the Pseudo-Areopagite, whom he identified with the patron of his abbey, Suger embraced all created beauty as a light leading to the Uncreated. Sugar seems repeatedly to be answering the arguments of St. Bernard.

Within his own abbey also, Suger met opposition. To some of his monks, his taste appeared extravagant, flamboyant. Others objected to the breaks with tradition, the destruction of a venerated monument, the complete innovation in style. The editor says: "It was as if a President of the United States were to have had the White House rebuilt by Frank Lloyd Wright." Suger was not an arbitrary ruler; he undertook to explain the necessity for rebuilding and to win the monks' approval of his acts. Mr. Panofsky finds another reason in Suger's vanity, but a "humble" vanity, he calls it, and an "institutional" vanity. Although Suger had the ambition to perpetuate his fame, yet he identified himself with the abbey, and it was for the abbey he labored. This presentation of motives contributes to a better understanding of points in the text; moreover it is very interesting reading in itself. (Sister Ann Julia Kinnirey)

Rand, E. K., Pope Professor of Latin Emeritus, Harvard University. *The Aquinas Lecture, 1945. Cicero in the Courtroom of St. Thomas Aquinas.* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. 1946. Pp. 115. $1.50.)

This elaboration of the Aquinas Lecture of 1945, delivered under the auspices of the Aristotelian Society of Marquette University, was destined to be the last study of Edward Kennard Rand on one of his favorite themes, the influence of classical writers on the Middle Ages. He never saw the proofs of the present work, as he died suddenly on October 28, 1945. Thanks to his thorough use of the unpublished "Concordance to St. Thomas," which was gladly placed at his disposal by its compilers, Professor Roy J. Deferrari and Sister Inviolata Barry of the Catholic University of America, he was able to obtain complete control of St. Thomas' citations of Cicero—St. Thomas preferred to call him

Tullius. Professor Rand has discussed St. Thomas' use of Cicero in a number of typical instances, and has done so with all his customary charm and insight. The reading of this lecture is as delightful as it is profitable. St. Thomas held Cicero in high respect and quotes him and follows him in a surprisingly large number of cases. Fairly copious notes and two appendices (I, On the Cardinal Virtues; II, Seneca and Boethius in the Courtroom of St. Thomas) enhance the scholarly value of this little book. The proof-reading should have been done with greater care. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

RANDALL, J. G., Professor of History, University of Illinois. *Lincoln and the South.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1946. Pp. viii, 161. $1.50.)

In these lectures Professor Randall has made an excellent case for regarding Lincoln as a child of the yeoman South. Although Lincoln moved from Kentucky at the age of seven, he continued to be surrounded by southern people and southern upland culture during the impressionable period of his young manhood. His lawpartners in Illinois were southerners and his closest friend was the Kentuckian, Joshua Speed. He married Mary Todd of Lexington, Kentucky, who brought him into contact with the aristocratic South (incidentally, Professor Randall rescues her reputation from the slanders of Herndon). Lincoln spoke the southern vernacular. An ardent follower of Henry Clay, he remained a Whig as long as that party existed, an affiliation which united him with southern politicians. In political thought he was a reverent disciple of Jefferson and of the older idealistic political tradition of the South.

Professor Randall draws a consistent portrait of Lincoln as a moderate in dealing with the South. His border state policy was a brilliant piece of statesmanship, based on patience, on the understanding of southern psychology, and on the repudiation of radicals like Frémont, who would have rashly forced the issue of emancipating the slaves. A splendid lecture is devoted to Lincoln's emancipation proclamation, in which the author shows that Lincoln's real design for the freedom of the slaves was a gradual emancipation, with compensation to the owners, and the colonization of the freedmen. Lincoln was bitterly hated by the radicals on account of his generous attitude toward the South, and they were able strongly to modify and even in several cases to reverse his southern policy. Lincoln's reconstruction policy was based on a remarkably lenient and liberal plan, which was the basis of Sherman's generous surrender terms repudiated by Secretary of War Stanton.

These studies of Lincoln are gracefully written and reveal a sympathetic but critical attitude toward the subject. Professor Randall is severe, however, on the radicals and on the inefficiency and blundering of Congress. His picture of Lincoln has a tantalizing quality, for he shows this great statesman as reasonable, kindly, willing to compromise, rising above the party motive. On the other hand, neither in this volume nor in his larger study of *Lincoln the President* does the author explain adequately Lincoln's action in opposing the Crittenden Compromise or practical plans of adjusting the sectional dispute during the critical period between his election as President and the firing on Fort Sumter. (CLEMENT EATON)

SALOMONE, A. WILLIAM. *Italian Democracy in the Making. The Political Scene in the Giolittian Era, 1900-1914.* Introductory Essay by Gaetano Salvemini. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1945. Pp. xix, 148. $2.50.)

The author is to be congratulated on this work. He has presented a penetrating, sometimes almost a fascinating, portrait of a little-known, but important era of modern Italian history. Evidence of this study is also given in the rich bibliographical survey. The reader will be pleased to note from the beginning that the author—beyond the questions he deals with explicitly—is well acquainted with the background of these years. The many different intellectual trends and personalities which helped to shape the period come to the fore—of whom the most impressive seems to be that of the great sociological thinker, Gaetano Mosca—or is it that the reviewer is biased by pleasant personal reminiscences? More could have been said on the historical significance of Vilfredo Pareto; and—to this reviewer at least—it seems that something is left to be told also on the personality and thought of Enrico Corradini.

The author rightly points to the changed attitude of recent Italian historians concerning the importance of the Italian eighteenth century. Yet he still sticks to some old-fashioned views as exemplified in the obsolete *Cambridge Modern History* as far as Austrian rule and administration in the north Italian provinces are concerned, a rule, which, it is true, nobody wants to glorify. Here too, the work of recent Italian historians should have been taken into consideration.

The reviewer would definitely object to the omission of any discussion of the foreign policy of Italy during the period concerned. That Giolitti himself did not take readily to foreign policy is no argument to the contrary (p. 103). One need not be an adherent of the "Prussian" historical school in order to conceive an interdependence between foreign policy and other spheres of action within a historical period. The author quotes a pertinent answer of an Italian nationalist to Luigi Luzzatti: "To tell a country of thirty-four million inhabitants not to occupy itself with questions of foreign affairs is equivalent to a recommendation of suicide" (p. 93, n. 36).

The following statement made by Giolitti in Parliament in 1909 may be quoted as an illustration that some thoughts of the "hero" of this study are closely linked with what is considered to be characteristic of Italy after World War I: "The state represents the entire nation which is above all religions, all sects, and all political parties" (p. 107, n. 28). But it may be said once more, Dr. Salomone's book as a whole is, indeed, very enjoyable and very welcome. (FRIEDRICH ENGEL-JANOSI)

SHAW, P. E. *The Catholic Apostolic Church, Sometimes Called Irvingite. A Historical Study.* (New York: King's Crown Press. 1946. Pp. viii, 264. $3.25.)

This definitive account of the Catholic Apostolic Church will very likely be the final word about this unusual sect of Christendom which is rapidly becoming extinct. Following the leadership of Edward Irving, a Scotch Presbyterian clergyman in London in the early nineteenth century, this sect was begun

to perpetuate numerous of his peculiar ideas about the imminence of the return of our Lord, the unusual guidance of the Holy Spirit, the return of the New Testament "apostolic" ministry, and even the speaking in tongues.

With the choice of John Bate Cardale as the first "apostle" on November 7, 1832, the movement took on a new character, repudiating the leadership of Irving, who until his untimely death at forty-two was at best but a pastor ("angel" in their terminology). The "apostles," at one time twelve, were the sole administrative authority in the church and to them alone was entrusted the power to ordain the other orders of the clergy—angels (priests), prophets, and deacons. Since the last of those who were ordained by these men are now very aged and have no authority to perpetuate their orders, the end of this organization is in sight.

Through the attempts of the apostolate to suppress the prophetic utterances of others in the church, which was really the victory of a rigid authoritarian rule over the earlier democratic spirit in the group, a schism occurred in the church when the New Apostolic Church was born in 1860 in Germany, the tribe (diocese) of Apostle Carlyle. This new church, established largely among German-speaking people in many countries, today numbers 2,500 congregations with about 300,000 members. This branch gives promise of continuance since its apostolate is self-perpetuating.

Having stressed their unusual characteristics, it should also be said for this group, composed largely of the middle and upper classes, that they also emphasized many of the basic and fundamental teachings of the Christian Church. Rooting originally in Presbyterianism, they quickly became enamored of the Tractarian movement, developed an elaborate historically grounded liturgy, and stressed sacramentarianism. Most of the leaders of the movement in Europe and America were learned and well trained. Augustus Francis Hewit, once associated with the American leader W. W. Andrews, later became a distinguished Roman Catholic priest and co-founder of the Paulist Fathers.

This work is carefully annotated and indexed. The bibliography is especially valuable because so many of the original materials of this group were published anonymously and in pamphlet form. There seems to be an error in transcribing the name of Henry Hilton for Henry Dalton in the footnote to the photograph opposite page 56. At times the author's style, as in the case of the description of the Taylor-Tyler controversy (p. 132), leaves the reader confused. (RAYMOND W. ALBRIGHT)

SILBERNER, EDMUND. *The Problem of War in Nineteenth Century Economic Thought.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1946. Pp. xiv, 332. $3.00.)

Scholarship and a facile pen are both exhibited in Professor Silberner's newest book on the relation between war and economics, a topic which he had previously treated in *La guerre dans la pensée économique du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1939). In considering this subject during the nineteenth century the author has made an exceptionally valuable contribution to both the literature of war and of economics. The material is skilfully organized according to the main schools of economic theory: the liberals, the socialists, and the protectionists or economic nationalists. Under each heading the ideas

of representative theorists are summarized. A distinction is made between the English and French liberals; the German historical school gets special treatment; Marx and Engels are considered apart from the other socialists. While thus avoiding the pitfalls of rigid classification the author does provide an analysis of each school in his last chapter.

Both the liberals and the socialists offered a doctrinaire solution for the scourge of war. Through free trade the liberals believed all nations would draw together and co-operate freely. The socialists believed that a fundamental revision of property concepts would create an entirely new society in which war would be impossible. Neither the socialists nor the liberals felt any need for a formal international organization once the basic economic conditions for an enduring peace had been established. Not all the protectionists were pessimistic about the abolition of war, although the German historical school, by refusing to consider any other economic unit than the state, discovered positive benefits in the maintenance of armies and in the prosecution of successful wars. In this outlook the German theorists were unique among nineteenth-century economists. To a certain extent Professor Silberner leaves an impression of German bellicosity which is not wholly warranted since the debate over the productivity of armament expenditures brought about some of the most bitter German parliamentary battles.

In his conclusion the author applies the ideas of nineteenth-century economists to the problem of war in our own time. While he is critical of the automatism so prominent in socialist and liberal doctrines, he is impressed by the liberals' faith in free trade and economic co-operation, and also by the socialists' contention that economic unrest and inequality, among individuals as well as among states, are a cause of war. Within a modern civilization he finds that a world federation, enjoying full economic relations and complete commercial freedom, in which every nation would be assisted to higher economic well being through industrialization, would best assure a lasting peace.

Scholars may profit from Professor Silberner's ability to say much in little space; his text is all the more eloquent because superfluous comment has been eliminated. Excellent footnotes outlining the theorists' careers set the stage for the general reader and occasional brief summaries of general tendencies keep him sufficiently oriented. The attractive format and excellent printing customarily associated with publications of the Princeton University Press are further recommendations for this book. (WILLIAM O. SHANAHAN)

STEWART, WATT, Professor of History, New York State College for Teachers, Albany. *Henry Meiggs: Yankee Pizarro.* (Durham: Duke University Press. 1946. Pp. xiv, 370. $4.00.)

"Honest Harry" or "Don Enrique," as Henry Meiggs was known in San Francisco and South America generally, came into the world at Catskill, New York, on July 7, 1811, and left it at Lima, Peru, on September 30, 1877. Brother-in-law of Minor Keith, whose name rings proudly in Costa Rica and various other lands of Latin America, and an associate of notable figures in the opening of mines and railroads in the southern hemisphere, Meiggs carved a deep mark in the history of the nineteenth century. He typified the gold-mad,

generous, devious, finally repentant adventurer of the 1850's. Forced to flee California for great forgeries, he took to honest business in Chile and built the successful Santiago-Valparaiso railroad line. This enterprise made him a sizable fortune—and incidentally helped him to redress some of his wrongs in San Francisco. But the lure of hard metal drew him on until he contracted with the Peruvian government to lay a network of rails that neither the national treasury nor the national economy could sustain. In the process of that development, he and the government rifled the people and bankruptcy overtook the riflers. In the turmoil, exhausted by risk and rigor of work, his heart failed him. His funeral brought forth a magnificent tribute of mourning from the plain people who saw his railroads and forgot his debts.

The sub-title, "Yankee Pizarro," suggests either a popular biography or an epic in prose. The book is neither. Stewart used great pains to gather every piece of data that might illustrate his story. The account is factual and reliable. The style is scarcely distinguished. Nevertheless, this narrative reveals quite clearly the intricate web of Peruvian troubles that brought to that nation complete discredit in the commercial world. For this, rather than for the data of business, the book will be remembered. In its wealth of materials, duly inscribed in footnote and bibliography, the author has won title to respect and gratitude. (W. EUGENE SHIELS)

TAIT, SAMUEL W., JR. *The Wildcatters. An Informal History of Oil-Hunting in America.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1946. Pp. xvi, 218. $3.00.)

Not only gold, but oil, too, is where you find it. And never be tricked by the prosaic profile of an oil derrick or the latest venture of a "wildcatter" into imagining that no romance lurks within their shadows; the author of this little volume asseverates with considerable intensity—and makes out a sufficiently good case for his belief—that there is high poetry in a rising and falling walking beam and there is music in a whirling rotary wheel. And, of course, there is oil within the earth—and not until the crack of doom will the wildcatters desist in their relentless search for their oily El Doradoes!

Mr. Tait has found a stirring American saga in the story of those whom he calls the "wildcatters," and his volume is worth reading because in it the author demonstrates an absorbing interest in the subject and because, too, he does not claim more for it than his pages deserve. Admittedly, this is an informal history. The chatty and informative style employed throughout is explained by the fact that the author's interest in petroleum and all its pomps seemingly goes back to that moment when, as the blurb unblushingly informs us, he was "almost literally born in a derrick!" In the prologue, the author thus key-notes this creditable little volume: "It is always enjoyable to write about the thing that one likes best." In this case, the perusal is likewise enjoyable and not devoid of profit. (JOHN B. MCGLOIN)

WALWORTH, ARTHUR. *Black Ships off Japan: The Story of Commodore Perry's Expedition.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1946. Pp. xviii, 277. $3.00.)

Now that United States warships once more drop anchor in Tokyo Bay, this story of Commodore Perry's achievement is timely to the minute. Names which

five years ago would have meant nothing more to us than a flash of outland glamor, now fill us with mixed emotions of pride and sorrow. Okinawa, which Perry made his base, the Bonins, which he visited, have today a sadly familiar ring. And, of course, the comparison is obvious between Perry's cautious and gradual advance up Tokyo Bay with MacArthur's triumphant progress into Tokyo itself, forbidden to Perry.

Although *Black Ships off Japan* is timely, it has a value quite apart from adventitious circumstance. The story of how Perry carried out his delicate mission of opening Japan to American traders is told with a fullness of background which helps to create a proper appreciation of this great event in United States naval annals. The troubles of American seamen who were wrecked on the Japanese coast, the fruitless visit of Commodore Biddle, the more successful call of Commander Glynn put Perry's achievement into proper perspective.

Mr. Walworth has attempted to give a documented yet popular account of Perry's expedition. And he has succeeded. His documentation seems careful and wide. He has used not only official accounts of the expedition, but has checked these by private narratives and off-the-record statements. He has used Japanese accounts (in translation) to round out his picture.

Although carefully documented, *Black Ships off Japan* makes interesting reading. The book has an excellent format and its value is enhanced by a number of contemporary Japanese drawings of Perry and his companions and two very useful maps. It may interest students of the period to know that the Monumenta Nipponica Monographs edited by Sophia University, Tokyo, include three Perry expedition documents: the Journal of Dr. James Morrow, the Sproston Manuscript—both used by Mr. Walworth, and the diary of Lieut. John M. Brooke, which is not included in Mr. Walworth's biography. (JOSEPH S. BRUSHER)

WELLES, WINIFRED. *The Lost Landscape.* Illustrated by Phyllis Coté. (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1946. Pp. 299. $3.00.)

Subtitled "Some Memories of a Family and a Town in Connecticut, 1659-1906," this is one of the most unhackneyed and charming books to appear in years. But it is by no means straight history. In a foreword the author says that she has not used actual names save for historical figures, that some of the incidents are imagined, and that she has drawn on books and a pamphlet for events and customs. Thus, this is essentially a work of fiction, though based sometimes remotely, on fact.

The author, who died in 1939, begins with the night of her birth in Norwich Town in 1893, and moves forward and backward in time from that point. She sketches her childhood, to the age of thirteen in a house built in 1761. The attic was filled with furniture, pictures, clothing, books, letters, and other articles, each of them a link with the past. At first these were to her simply intriguing helps in passing a rainy day. But she came to appreciate them as clues to the family history. Primarily from letters, journals, and oral traditions she reconstructs that history for several generations.

Especially noteworthy is the second of the book's three sections. This opens

with a summary biography of Dr. Jonathan Adgate (1740-1815), who was an army doctor in three wars: once with the king's troops, later with the American forces in the Revolution and in the War of 1812. Here is a lively account of the making of a physician in eighteenth-century Connecticut, particulars of medical practice there, and a picture of an army doctor's duties and difficulties.

The work next focuses on Tracy Hoyt, a lawyer, who lived in New London during the Revolution. What the war meant to New London, which the British always menaced and finally fired, is vividly depicted. Equally impressive is the portrayal of the ravages of yellow fever in the port city shortly after the war. By his third wife Hoyt had a son, Turner, who was the author's grandfather. His story is given more fully and is crowded with homely details of life in a small New England community throughout the nineteenth century. The impact of yet another war on one town and one home is shown in the pages devoted to Turner Hoyt's son, who was killed in the Civil War. In writing of her mother, Mary Hoyt, the author is dealing with a more recent period and more personal matters, as is true of her presentation of her own youth.

The conspicuous merits of this book are its truly exquisite style (fastidious yet flexible, and extraordinarily sensuous in its communication of the precise look, taste, smell, feel, sound of whatever it is the author is describing) and its masterly weaving of many threads into a coherent, patterned fabric. But, to repeat, as history it is of extremely dubious worth. There is, generally, no way of knowing just which parts of it are unadulterated transcription of the documents in that fabulous attic. (JOHN S. KENNEDY)

WILSON, EVELYN FAYE. *The Stella Maris of John of Garland.* (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America. 1946. Pp. xii, 224. $3.50; to members, $2.80.)

John of Garland's *Stella maris* or *Miracula beate Marie virginis* is here edited for the first time from two manuscripts, much of the gloss in one of which may have been written by John himself. It is a collection in verse of sixty-one selected legends of the Blessed Virgin. The legends are not told at length, but their content is merely suggested. John has "inserted lessons on various subjects, natural science, astronomy, and theology" (p. 67), on the life and feasts of Mary, and hymns, "to show how all the liberal arts united in worship of the Virgin Mary" (p. 71). The numerous glosses bear out the editor's contention that John wrote for classroom use. They give additional factual information, explanation of names and terms, and synonyms in Latin, French, and English.

In her introduction Miss Wilson gives a list of local collections of Mary-legends, seeks to put into some order the various great manuscript collections, and gives the usual account of manuscripts, authorship, and date. In her Notes on the Legends (pp. 155-210) she summarizes the pertinent legends, discusses briefly their growth, and lists parallels in Latin and the vernacular tongues. A glossary of words that do not appear in Harper's *Latin Dictionary,* a general index, and indices of manuscripts and legends conclude this book, which is valuable for those interested in the cult of the Blessed Virgin, mediaeval poetry, John of Garland, and the schools. "Bruges" for "British Museum" on page 61 is a slip of the pen (JOSEPH N. GARVIN)

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Pénitence et excommunication. Étude historique sur les rapports entre la théologie et le droit canon dans le domaine pénitentiel du IX^e^ au XIII^e^ siècle. François Russo *(ibid.,* Vol. XXXIII, No. 3).

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The Significance of St. Augustine. Raymond V. Schoder *(Amer. Ecclesiastical Rev.,* Oct.).

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Fray José de la Canal, continuador de la "España sagrada," obispo propuesto para la diócesis de Gerona. Luis Battle y Prats *(ibid.).*

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